

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

VOLUME 21

FEBRUARY, 1956

NUMBER 1

## Editor

LEONARD BROOM

## Associate Editors

DONALD R. CRESSEY  
OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN  
HARVEY J. LOCKE  
GUY E. SWANSON  
WILLIAM L. KOLB  
FRANCIS E. MERRILL  
KARL SCHUESSLER  
WILLIAM H. SEWELL  
WALTER FIREY  
NOEL P. GIST  
ALVIN W. GOULDNER  
FRED L. STRODTBECK

## Book Review Editor

RICHARD T. MORRIS

## Editorial Staff

MELVILLE DALTON  
HAROLD GARFINKEL  
RUTH RIEMER  
WILLIAM S. ROBINSON  
RALPH H. TURNER

## Executive Officer

MATILDA WHITE RILEY

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 372-374 Broadway, Albany, New York, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October, and December. Copyright 1956 by the American Sociological Society.

★ Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$10.00 per year. Subscription rate, \$6.00. Single issues, \$1.25. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States and Canada; other countries, \$1.00 per year.

Four weeks' advance notice to the Executive Office, and old address as well as new, are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

## Contents

Differential Rural-Urban Fertility in Mexico.....	
ROBERT G. BURNIGHT, NATHAN L. WHETTEN, AND BRUCE D. WAXMAN .....	3
Scale Analysis of Urban Structures: A Study of Birmingham, Alabama .....	
NORMAN E. GREEN .....	8
Urban Structure and Social Participation.....	
MORRIS AXELROD .....	13
Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis.....	
SCOTT GREER .....	19
Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations .....	
WENDELL BELL AND MARYANNE T. FORCE .....	25
Suburbanism as a Way of Life.....	
SYLVIA FLEIS FAVA .....	34
Population Growth and Distribution in Central Cities, 1940-1950 .....	
RICHARD W. REDICK .....	38
Trends in Residential Segregation of Nonwhites in American Cities, 1940-1950.....	
DONALD O. COWGILL .....	43
Factors in Work-Residence Separation: Wage and Salary Workers, Chicago, 1951.....	
BEVERLY DUNCAN .....	48
Social Differentials in Mode of Travel, Time and Cost in the Journey to Work.....	
LEO G. REEDER .....	56
Occupational Selection and Intelligence in Rural Communities and Small Towns in Missouri.....	
C. T. PIHLBLAD AND C. L. GREGORY .....	63
Perceived Consensus Within and Among Occupational Classes.....	
MARY MONK AND THEODORE M. NEWCOMB .....	71
The Minority Course.....	
MORTON B. KING, JR. .....	80
Multiple Intergroup Relations in the Upper Rio Grande Region.....	
E. K. FRANCIS .....	84

## COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

Comment on Lessa's Review.....	GEORGE DEVEREUX	88
Comment on the Review of <i>The Talladega Story</i> .....	JIRI KOLAJA	39

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

## BOOK REVIEWS

Parsons, Bales, et al.: <i>Family, Socialization and Interaction Process</i> . Harold T. Christensen.....	96
Hare, et al.: <i>Small Groups</i> . Melvin Seeman.....	97
Redfield: <i>The Little Community</i> . John W. Bennett.....	98
Marriott: <i>Village India</i> . Ruth Hill Useem.....	100
Mead and Wolfenstein: <i>Childhood in Contemporary Cultures</i> . Robert J. Havighurst.....	101

Concerning Manuscripts  
and Book Reviews address  
Editorial Offices  
Haines Hall 391  
University of California  
Los Angeles 24, California

Concerning Advertising  
and Subscriptions address  
Executive Office  
New York University  
Washington Square  
New York 3, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Albany, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 23, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, F.L. and R., authorized June 4, 1938.

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1956

*President*, HERBERT BLUMER, University of California, Berkeley  
*President-Elect*, ROBERT K. MERTON, Columbia University  
*First Vice-President*, ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR., Cornell University  
*Second Vice-President*, MEYER F. NIMKOFF, Florida State University  
*Secretary*, WELLMAN J. WARNER, New York University  
*Editor*, LEONARD BROOM, University of California, Los Angeles  
*Executive Officer*, MATILDA WHITE RILEY, Rutgers University

### COUNCIL

HERBERT BLUMER  
 ROBERT K. MERTON  
 ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR..  
 MEYER F. NIMKOFF  
 WELLMAN J. WARNER  
 LEONARD BROOM

#### Former Presidents

SAMUEL A. STOFFER  
 FLORIAN ZNANIECKI  
 DONALD YOUNG

#### Elected at Large

GORDON W. BLACKWELL  
 MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD  
 EVERETT C. HUGHES  
 HARVEY J. LOCKE  
 KINGSLEY DAVIS  
 MABEL A. ELLIOTT  
 CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK  
 LOWRY NELSON  
 REINHARD BENDIX  
 ROBERT BIERSTEDT  
 AMOS H. HAWLEY  
 DAVID RIESMAN

#### Elected from Affiliated Societies

RAY E. BABER  
 HUGH CARTER  
 WILLIAM E. COLE  
 THOMAS D. ELIOT  
 WILLIAM L. KOLB  
 ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE  
 WILLIAM H. SEWELL  
 RAYMOND F. SLETT  
 STUART A. QUEEN

#### Executive Committee

HERBERT BLUMER  
 ROBERT K. MERTON  
 DONALD YOUNG  
 WELLMAN J. WARNER  
 LEONARD BROOM

#### Elected by the Council

KINGSLEY DAVIS  
 CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK  
 ROBERT BIERSTEDT  
 STUART A. QUEEN

Blau: <i>The Dynamics of Bureaucracy</i> . Sheldon L. Messinger.....	102
Golden and Parker: <i>Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining</i> . Robert Dubin.....	103
Wynn: <i>The NAACP Versus Negro Revolutionary Protest</i> . Wilson Record .....	103
Macridis: <i>The Study of Comparative Government</i> . Felix Gross....	104
Berman and Kerner: <i>Soviet Military Law and Administration</i> . Robert A. Feldmesser.....	105
<i>Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology</i> . Harold W. Pfautz .....	106
Bartholomew and Wood: <i>Land Uses in American Cities</i> . Amos H. Hawley .....	106
Tryon: <i>Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis</i> . Otis Dudley Duncan.....	107
Cuzzort: <i>Suburbanization of Service Industries</i> . Aubrey Wendling..	108
Kitagawa and Bogue: <i>Suburbanization of Manufacturing Activity</i> . Aubrey Wendling.....	108
Bergel: <i>Urban Sociology</i> . Morris Axelrod.....	109
Nelson: <i>Rural Sociology</i> . A. R. Mangus.....	110
Lewis: <i>Blackways of Kent</i> . Jitsuiichi Masuoka.....	111
Lorimer: <i>Culture and Human Fertility</i> . Ruth Riemer.....	112
Balandier: <i>Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire</i> . Michael Banton..	112
Hawthorn: <i>The Doukhobors of British Columbia</i> . Joseph W. Eaton	113
Allport: <i>Theories of Perception and the Concept of Structure</i> . Robert E. L. Faris.....	114
Brookover, et al.: <i>A Sociology of Education</i> . Hornell Hart.....	115
<i>Evaluation in Mental Health</i> . Margaret Cussler.....	116
Paterson: <i>Morale in War and Work</i> . Theodore Caplow.....	116
Landis: <i>Making the Most of Marriage</i> . Robert McGinnis.....	118
Reckless: <i>The Crime Problem</i> . Gresham M. Sykes.....	118
Cavan: <i>Criminology</i> . Gresham M. Sykes.....	118

### BOOK NOTES

Jenkin: <i>The Study of Political Theory</i> . Lewis A. Dexter.....	119
Benjamin: <i>Operationism</i> . Gwynne Nettler.....	120
Goldblatt: <i>Westchester Real Estate Brokers, Builders, Bankers and Negro Home-Buyers</i> . Donald L. Foley.....	120
Monahan: <i>Families in Conflict</i> . Harvey J. Locke.....	121
Christiansen: <i>Landssviger kriminaliteten i sociologisk belysning</i> . S. R.	121
Mumford: <i>The Brown Decades and Sticks and Stones</i> .....	121
Lee and Lee: <i>Social Problems in America</i> . Orden Smucker.....	122
<i>Britain: An Official Handbook</i> .....	122

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Articles in the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals and in the Weekly Bulletin of Public Affairs Information Service.)



# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

February  
1956

Volume 21  
Number 1

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

## DIFFERENTIAL RURAL-URBAN FERTILITY IN MEXICO

ROBERT G. BURNIGHT, NATHAN L. WHETTEN AND BRUCE D. WAXMAN

*The University of Connecticut*

THAT rural populations are more fertile than urban is one of the most widely-observed phenomena in the field of human fertility.<sup>1</sup> Most of the data on this subject have been collected in the industrialized countries of the West, but some evidence exists that this relationship is widespread among underdeveloped countries as well.<sup>2</sup> Whetten's study, published in 1948, included data showing that the fertility of Mexican women was much lower in cities having more than ten thousand inhabitants than in localities having less than ten thousand.<sup>3</sup> The present paper pursues further the problem of differential fertility in Mexico utilizing data that have more recently become available.

Mexico, in common with other Latin American countries, has a high level of fertility. Since 1932, when the registration of births was considered to be reasonably complete, the annual crude birth rate has not dropped below 42.2 per thousand, and in 1947 it was 46.1 births per thousand population. In 1950 the crude birth rate was 45.7 per thousand.<sup>4</sup> This high level of fertility, coupled with decreasing mortality, brought about an 18.7 per cent increase in Mexico's

population between 1930 and 1940 and a 31.2 per cent increase between 1940 and 1950.

This increase, however, has not been experienced equally by all segments of the population. Since at least the year 1900 urban places in Mexico have grown at faster rates than the country as a whole. Between 1930 and 1940 urban places increased 30.3 per cent; and between 1940 and 1950 they increased 73.0 per cent<sup>5</sup> as compared with 31.2 per cent for the country as a whole.

This large increase in Mexico's urban population has come about in large part from differential internal migration. Indirect evidence of this is shown by an analysis of state-of-birth data from the Mexican Censuses of 1940 and 1950. During the decade, 1940-50, urban municipios experienced a total increase in population of 3,569,892 persons and the remaining municipios 2,550,846 persons. In urban municipios, the increase during the decade in the number of persons born in other states represents 30.4 per cent of their total population increase, while in the rural municipios the net increase in persons born in other states represents only 5.4 per cent of the total increase over the decade.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*, New York: United Nations, 1953, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Jaffe, "Urbanization and Fertility," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (July, 1942), pp. 48-60; Frank Lorimer and others, *Culture and Human Fertility*, Paris: UNESCO, 1954, pp. 237, 242-243.

<sup>3</sup> Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 389-393.

<sup>4</sup> *Demographic Yearbook 1953*, New York: United Nations, 1953, pp. 134-135.

<sup>5</sup> Floyd Dotson and Lillian Ota Dotson, "Urban Centralization and Decentralization in Mexico," to be published in *Rural Sociology*, March, 1956; urban places are defined as those localities containing more than 10,000 people.

<sup>6</sup> Nathan L. Whetten and Robert G. Burnight, *Internal Migration in Mexico*, to be published in Mexico in a volume in honor of Manuel Gamio; urban municipios are those which contain a locality of 10,000 or more persons, while the other municipios are designated as rural.

## AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF CHILDREN 0-4 YEARS OLD PER 1,000 WOMEN 15-49 YEARS OF AGE, BY URBAN AND RURAL MUNICIPIOS, BY STATES, MEXICO, 1950 \*

States	In Rural Municipios	In Urban Municipios According to Number of Inhabitants			In All Municipios
		5,000- 9,999	10,000- 49,999	50,000 and Over	
Baja California T.S.	744	650	597	534	620
Campeche	688	642	587	509	587
Coahuila	718	576	655	572	610
Colima	728	601	604	514	603
Chiapas	753	703	577	548	618
Chihuahua	697	688	633	519	578
Distrito Federal	616	571	604	476	491
Durango	705	711	640	577	622
Guanajuato	703	687	636	628	652
Guerrero	644	638	598	497	616
Hidalgo	700	768	656	556	660
Jalisco	677	640	635	509	587
Mexico	691	691	646	554	640
Michoacan	669	668	611	584	631
Morelos	642	574	526	451	551
Nayarit	678	648	607	514	634
Nuevo Leon	700	615	612	513	537
Oaxaca	606	573	493	427	539
Puebla	671	625	587	500	557
Queretaro	697	734	597	546	634
San Luis Potosi	738	683	597	558	601
Sinaloa	702	718	638	556	657
Sonora	649	576	591	475	589
Tabasco	801	696	614	574	635
Tamaulipas	716	663	607	473	564
Tlaxcala	711	651	598	523	642
Veracruz	715	656	607	429	573
Yucatan	724	688	603	490	560
Zacatecas	726	715	694	582	703
Total Mexico	689	661	614	505	576

\* Data for the missing cells, which are italicized, were derived by the iterative method for the purpose of an analysis variance. See George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods*, Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1940, p. 224.

The basic data for the present study were derived from the 1950 Mexican Census of Population. The manner in which these data are tabulated, however, presents methodological difficulties for the study of urban and rural characteristics of the population. Only numbers of persons by sex are pre-

sented for the urban and the rural populations. Urban population is defined as persons living in localities having 2,500 inhabitants and over. Data on age and other characteristics are presented only for states and for municipios, i.e., minor civil divisions for each state, and not for urban centers. Within the

TABLE 2. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IN FERTILITY RATIOS IN STATES OF MEXICO BY RESIDENCE CLASSIFICATION, 1950

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square Variance	Ratio of Variance, F
Total	713,455.00	115		
Among states	149,794.97	28	5,349.82	4.58*
Among residence classes	483,021.45	3	161,007.15	137.77*
Residual	80,638.59	69†	1,168.68	

\*Significant at the .001 level.

† 15 degrees of freedom lost because of missing cells.

# DIFFERENTIAL RURAL-URBAN FERTILITY IN MEXICO

5

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF CHILDREN 0-4 YEARS OLD PER 1,000 WOMEN 15-49 YEARS OF AGE IN URBAN MUNICIPIOS BY SIZE OF MUNICIPIOS, BY PROPORTION OF POPULATION LIVING IN URBAN CENTERS, AND BY STATES, MEXICO, 1950\*

States	Urban Municipios Having 5,000-9,999 Inhabitants		Urban Municipios Having 10,000-49,999 Inhabitants	
	Less Than 50 Per Cent Living in Urban Center	50 Per Cent and More Living in Urban Center	Less Than 50 Per Cent Living in Urban Center	50 Per Cent and More Living in Urban Center
Baja California, T.S.	684	650	667	597
Campeche	645	606	630	562
Coahuila	679	576	695	630
Colima	648	601	605	602
Chiapas	726	632	649	567
Chihuahua	686	690	693	633
Distrito Federal	571	623	716	598
Durango	711	663	664	632
Guanajuato	686	709	651	620
Guerrero	638	612	653	561
Hidalgo	769	766	754	656
Jalisco	638	646	674	590
Mexico	712	566	646	578
Michoacan	668	669	642	596
Morelos	611	574	594	526
Nayarit	655	608	647	607
Nuevo Leon	615	615	607	622
Oaxaca	632	540	579	493
Puebla	610	642	577	616
Queretaro	734	668	690	597
San Luis Potosi	696	650	604	542
Sinaloa	734	637	668	561
Sonora	605	507	617	575
Tabasco	696	625	614	581
Tamaulipas	663	612	651	539
Tlaxcala	619	671	653	598
Veracruz	684	603	718	550
Yucatan	711	682	689	603
Zacatecas	720	684	711	637
Total Mexico	675	627	652	587

\* Data for the missing cells, which are italicized, were derived by the iterative method for the purpose of an analysis variance. See George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods*, Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1940, p. 224.

municipios, or coterminous with them, are located the urban places or localities. In order to make the analysis of urban-rural differentials in fertility, all municipios containing a place of 5,000 and more persons were designated "urban municipios" and the remainder "rural municipios."<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Students of Mexico consider, because of land settlement patterns and the organization of Mexican agriculture, that setting the urban limit at 2,500 does not adequately differentiate the urban from the rural population. Whetten, with the Dotsons concurring, [see Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 36 and the Dotsons, *op. cit.*] suggests 10,000 inhabitants as a more realistic lower limit. In our study, however, we have chosen to use a lower limit of

"urban municipios" were further differentiated according to size of their urban places.

Since no other measures of fertility for the rural and urban populations of Mexico are available, the measure used in this analysis is the fertility ratio, i.e., the number of children under five years per 1,000 females aged 15-49 years. To the extent that deficiencies exist in this measure, the conclu-

5,000 to designate urban places and "urban municipios" in the belief that this procedure will not fail to include all urban populations. In part of the analysis, the municipios containing places of 5,000 to less than 10,000 persons are distinguished from those with places of 10,000 and more.

sions based upon it are weakened. The most obvious deficiencies result from: (a) important rural-urban differentials in mortality among children under five years of age, (b) differential rural-urban under-enumeration of children under five years, and (c) important age differences in the composition of females in the age group 15-49. No information is available to us on points (a) and (b), and an attempt is made to allow for (c) in part of the subsequent analysis.

In addition to the observations that differences in fertility exist between rural areas and urban places, there is strong evidence

#### FERTILITY AND URBAN DOMINANCE

In the preceding discussion, the fertility ratios have been presented for the populations of municipios classified according to the size of the urban place within the municipio. In all municipios, except those containing the larger cities, varying proportions of the municipio's population live outside the urban place. For all the urban municipios containing urban places of less than 50,000 persons, the proportion living in the urban places ranges between 14.3 per cent and 100.0 per cent. Since it has been

TABLE 4. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IN FERTILITY RATIOS OF URBAN MUNICIPIOS IN STATES OF MEXICO BY URBAN DOMINANCE AND URBAN SIZE, 1950

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square Variance	Ratio of Variance, F
Total	342,399.04	115		
Among states	142,410.03	28	5,086.07	3.42*
Between urban size	27,552.72	1	27,552.72	18.55*
Between degree urban (urban dominance)	78,000.55	1	78,000.55	52.52*
Size $\times$ degree	3,838.79	1	3,838.79	2.58
Residual	90,596.94	61†	1,485.20	

\* Significant at the .001 level.

† 23 degrees of freedom lost because of missing cells.

that fertility varies according to size of urban place. Table 1 presents the fertility ratios for Mexican states<sup>8</sup> in 1950 and shows that the ratio is highest for the rural population and tends to decrease with increasing size of urban place. The municipios containing urban places of 50,000 and more persons showed the lowest fertility of any of the residential categories. An analysis of variance presented in Table 2 indicates that the differences in the fertility ratios among the rural-urban residential groupings are highly significant. Also significant is the variation in the fertility ratio from state to state indicating basic differences among states irrespective of differences associated with the size of the locality within the municipio.

<sup>8</sup> There are 29 Mexican states, a Federal District containing Mexico City, and the two territories of Baja California Sur and Quintana Roo. For convenience, all will be referred to in this article as "states." Three of the states, Aguascalientes, Baja California Norte, and Quintana Roo, have been excluded from this and subsequent analyses because they lack more than two of the residence categories.

shown that increasing urbanization as measured by size of urban place appears to have a depressing effect upon fertility, one would expect to find a lower fertility ratio in those municipios wherein the urban place contains a majority of the municipio's population than would be found in municipios wherein less than a majority of the population live in the urban places. Table 3 shows this to be the case both for municipios containing a small urban place and for those with an urban place of 10,000 to under 50,000 persons. The analysis of variance presented in Table 4 shows that urban dominance (i.e., proportion of the municipio's population living in cities) is highly significantly related to differences in the fertility of the total population of urban municipios. The interaction between size of urban place and urban dominance does not appear to be significant.

#### VARIABILITY IN FERTILITY AMONG THE MEXICAN STATES

In both the foregoing analyses, variability in fertility among the states of Mexico was



observed.<sup>9</sup> The most obvious factor explaining this variability would be differences in some aspect of urbanization among the various states. However, it is quite conceivable that at least some of this variability results from differences among the states in the age composition of women in the fertile age group, 15-49 years. In order to get at the variability in fertility introduced by these two factors, analysis by multiple correlation was made.

Differences, if they exist, in the age com-

measures of the various aspects of Mexican urbanization. Three have been selected here: (1)  $X_2$ , the proportion of all urban places which are small urban places, i.e., the percentage of all urban places of 5,000 and over which are between 5,000 and 10,000 population; (2)  $X_3$ , the proportion of all urban places that are large urban centers, i.e., the percentage of all urban places 5,000 and over which are 50,000 and over in population; and (3)  $X_4$ , the proportion of the total state population living in urban

TABLE 5. PARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN TOTAL STATE FERTILITY RATIO AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN 15-49 AND ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION, MEXICO, 1950

Variable	Designation	$r_Y$ Zero Order	$r_{Y \cdot X}$ First Order	$r_{Y \cdot X_2}$ Second Order
$X_1$	Per cent of women 15-49 who are 15-19	.6172	.4697*	.....
$X_2$	Per cent of all places 5,000+ that are under 10,000	-.1300	.2414	.1190
$X_3$	Per cent of all places 5,000+ that are 50,000+	-.0946	.2437	-.0250
$X_4$	Per cent of total popula- tion living in places of 5,000+	-.7438†	.....	.....

\* Significant at .01 level.

† Significant at .001 level.

position of fertile women are probably brought about by migration, since it is the young adult females who are generally most migratory, and who also have the highest fertility rates. One might assume that differential proportions of young females among the states would be one factor affecting observed fertility among the Mexican states. To test this assumption, all five-year age groups of women between 15 and 49 years were computed as proportions of the total age group 15-49 and then correlated with the total fertility ratios of the states. The proportions of fertile women who were 15-19 correlated most highly with total state fertility. This variable,  $X_1$ , was selected to indicate variations in age composition.

It would be possible to develop many

places, i.e., in places 5,000 and over. The zero order, first order, and second order partial correlation coefficients between these variables and total state fertility,  $Y$ , are presented in Table 5.

Partial correlations of variables  $X_4$  and  $X_1$  were statistically significant,<sup>10</sup> and these variables were used to compute a multiple correlation coefficient. The between state variability, which can be accounted for by the two variables selected, is indicated by a multiple  $R$  of .81. Allowing for the variation in the age composition of fertile women and the degree of urbanization, there is a residual variability among the states of  $(149,794.965) \times (1 - R^2)$ . When this operation is performed "F" in Table 2 is reduced to the point of being barely significant, at the .05 level.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> It should be pointed out that two distinct analyses of variance were performed and that one included observations on the rural municipios which the other did not. Consequently, it should not be expected that the "among states" sum of squares for the two tests would be the same, although, as observed, in both cases the variance ratio was highly significant.

<sup>10</sup> See Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, *Applied General Statistics*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946, pp. 777-778.

<sup>11</sup> The authors acknowledge the assistance given by Geoffrey Beall, Head of the Department of Statistics, University of Connecticut, on the statistical problems encountered in this study.

## SUMMARY

The most obvious conclusion coming out of this study is that Mexican fertility is subject to the differential effect of urbanization in much the same way as has been fertility in the industrialized countries of the West. The second major observation is that urban dominance significantly reduces the fertility ratio and offers a variable whose

importance in fertility studies has hitherto been unexplained. The significance of this factor deserves attention in fertility studies of our own country.

It is hoped that the methodological decisions pertaining to the rural-urban designations as well as the technique developed to hold the effects of age constant will be of some use to students of fertility in areas where such methods need to be employed.

## SCALE ANALYSIS OF URBAN STRUCTURES: A STUDY OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

NORMAN E. GREEN

*United States Air Force*

**I**N recent years, American sociologists have begun to explore the adaptation of the Guttman scalogram method to many varied research problems.<sup>1</sup> There are indications that scale analysis represents a methodological advancement, going far beyond its original application to attitude data.

During the past three years the writer has been investigating the use of aerial photography as a data collection source for urban sociological and ecological research.<sup>2</sup> In this connection, the scale analysis technique has been found to provide a convenient and precise method for defining ecological interrelationships between elements of physical structure (photographic data) and social structure within an urban complex. Furthermore, this approach appears to be promising because of its implications regarding ecologi-

cal theory and the understanding of structure-function relationships in urban organization. The purpose of this paper is to report the results of a study in Birmingham, Alabama in which census data of the type obtainable by aerial photographic interpretation were correlated with a series of social data to produce a scalogram model of the city considered as a socio-physical system.

The rationale within which the study was undertaken recognized that physical and social aspects of the city are plurally interrelated. The urban social system exists in a physical environment and is housed in and characterized by material-cultural features. Such physical units of the system are sociologically significant in that they limit, facilitate, or condition social interaction. Thus, certain aerial photographic information about the city should be meaningful for social science research because of the nexus between ecological or physical structure and social structure.

These relationships are not of a one-to-one, cause-effect nature, but, rather, are characterized by multiple associations and interdependencies. They are generally elusive to systematic description, and, as Quinn has stated, "To the extent that significant similarities do characterize a variety of spatially distributed data, they constitute recurrent regularities that offer a challenge to the scientist."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, see M. W. Riley, J. W. Riley, Jr., J. Tobey et al., *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis*, New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. See also, Calvin F. Schmid, "Generalizations Concerning the Ecology of the American City," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 264-281; and Joel Smith, "A Method for the Classification of Areas on the Basis of Demographically Homogeneous Populations," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (April, 1954), pp. 201-207.

<sup>2</sup> The present paper was developed from the writer's doctoral dissertation (University of North Carolina, 1955) entitled, "Aerial Photography in the Analysis of Urban Structures, Ecological and Social." The original document contains analyses of structural data collected by aerial photographic interpretation, while the research reported herein is concerned with the same "physical" data categories derived from U. S. census tabulations.

<sup>3</sup> James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, p. 535.

The problem, then, was to develop an empirical definition of common spatial patterns of both physical and social structures of the city. If this could be accomplished, a predictive value might be attached to the aerial photographic data. In addition, the resulting model would represent the city as a single system of physical and social organization.

The method of scale analysis appeared to offer a possible solution. In effect, it was hypothesized that certain physical data categories including housing types and densities, land use characteristics, and ecological location, constitute a scalable content area. This could be called a continuum of residential desirability. Likewise, it was hypothesized that several social data categories, describing the same census tracts, and re-

possible to select generally equal proportionate numbers of tracts at varying distances from the central business district within a rough outline of four major sectors.

Four "physical" data items were constructed in the development of and test for a scale of residential desirability. These were all assumed to be related to residential status location, having response categories which appeared to define desirable, neutral and undesirable characteristics. As indicated in Table 1, three of the items were trichotomous in form and the fourth was dichotomous.

Each tract was observed for category classification on each of the four items. Information for item one, zonal location, was derived from a broad breakdown of the city complex, as shown on the census tract map, into three roughly concentric circular zones.

TABLE 1. ITEM AND CATEGORY DEFINITIONS FOR SCALE OF RESIDENTIAL DESIRABILITY

Item No.	Subject	Category Definitions		
		Negative (A)	Neutral (B)	Positive (C)
1.	Zonal location	Inner	Middle	Outer
2.	Prevalence of single-family homes	<30 per cent	30-60 per cent	>60 per cent
3.	Dwelling-unit density per block	>30	19-30	≤18
4.	General land use characteristics	Unfavorable		Favorable

ferring generally to the social stratification system of the city, would also be scalable. This scale could be called a continuum of socio-economic status. Thirdly, it was hypothesized that there would be a high positive correlation between the scale types on each continuum. This relationship would define certain linkages between the social and physical structure of the city. It would also provide a precise definition of the commonalities among several spatial distributions. By the same token, the correlation between the residential desirability scale and the continuum of socio-economic status would provide an estimate of the predictive value of aerial photographic data relative to the social ecology of the city.

Twenty-eight census tracts, comprising about 50 per cent of the city area, were chosen as a representation of the fifty-eight such areal units in Birmingham. By referring to the census tract map of the city it was

Data for items two and three were obtained from 1950 U. S. Census tabulations.<sup>4</sup> The category limits for these two items were derived from experience in a correlational study of six regional U. S. cities. These particular breakdowns seemed most sensitive to differences in social data categories. Consequently, if such "attributes" <sup>5</sup> were found to be scalable, the resulting scale types might be expected to yield a greater predictive power.

Information for item four was obtained from the Birmingham Land Use Map for

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, III* (Census Tracts), and *Housing, V* (Block Statistics), Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952.

<sup>5</sup> Although the data are of the continuous variable type, grouping them into classes as "non-quantitative" physical structural attributes of residential subareas is a more feasible procedure in terms of aerial photographic data collection.

1950.<sup>6</sup> Each tract could be classified as either generally favorable or generally unfavorable by checking such factors affecting residential status location as intermixture of land use, proximity to industrial plants or railroad installations, and terrain features.

These four items, containing eleven re-

analysis of the resulting 112 responses followed procedural steps according to Guttman's Cornell technique.<sup>8</sup> As shown in the pattern in Table 2, the content area was found to be scalable, having a coefficient of reproducibility of .93.

The eight scale types represent a rank

TABLE 2. SCALE OF RESIDENTIAL DESIRABILITY FOR TWENTY-EIGHT CENSUS TRACTS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, 1950 (COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY=.93)

Scale Type	Tract No.	Item Number and Response Category												Scale Score
		C				B				A				
		3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1		
I	21	X	X	X	X								14	
I	22	X	X	X	X								14	
I	23	X	X	X	X								14	
II	38		X	X	X	X							12	
II	1		X	X	X	X							12	
II	4		X	X	X	X							12	
II	19		X	X	X					X			12	
III	18			X	X	X	X						10	
III	33			X	X	X	X						10	
III	31			X	X	X	X						10	
III	34	X		X			X		X				10	
IV	13		X		X	X		X					8	
IV	8	X			X		X	X					8	
IV	30				X	X	X	X					8	
IV	40				X	X	X	X					8	
IV	50				X	X	X	X					8	
V	42		X			X		X	X				6	
VI	47				X		X	X		X			4	
VI	3						X	X	X	X			4	
VI	5						X	X	X	X			4	
VII	9							X	X	X	X		2	
VIII	44					X			X		X	X	0	
VIII	26								X	X	X	X	0	
VIII	27								X	X	X	X	0	
VIII	28								X	X	X	X	0	
VIII	43								X	X	X	X	0	
VIII	45								X	X	X	X	0	
VIII	46								X	X	X	X	0	
Frequency		5	9	11	16	12	11	10	12	11	8	7	(112)	
Errors		2	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	( 8)	

sponse categories made it possible to obtain eight scale types<sup>7</sup> on the hypothetical continuum of residential desirability. The scale

<sup>6</sup> This map was made available by the Zoning Board of the Planning Commission, City Hall, Birmingham, Ala.

<sup>7</sup> When a content area is found to be scalable, the number of possible scale types is equal to the sum of all categories minus the number of questions, plus one. See Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Measurement and Prediction*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 74-76.

ordering of the twenty-eight census tracts from high to low on the continuum of residential desirability. The scale scores<sup>8</sup> con-

<sup>8</sup> See Louis Guttman, "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 7 (Summer, 1947), pp. 247-280.

<sup>9</sup> The scores were obtained by assigning weights of 4, 2 and 0 respectively to the positive, neutral, and negative categories of the trichotomous items and weights of 2 and 0 respectively to the favorable and unfavorable categories of the dichotomous item.



stitute quantitative descriptions of the interrelationships of the physical structural attributes. They may be used as a basis for systematic and precise comparative studies of intra-urban subareas. In addition, the nature of this scale variable is such that its predictive value is equal to that of a multiple correlation between all of the scale items and any external variable of interest. In this connection, as the analysis will indicate, the residential desirability scale offers a unique approach to the definition of the social ecology of the city.

Five trichotomous social data "items" were constructed in the development of a

determined whether its "response" was negative, neutral or positive. Scale analysis of the 140 responses revealed that the five trichotomous items represent a single scalable universe of content for these census tracts. The resulting scalogram, defined as a continuum of socio-economic status, and having a coefficient of reproducibility of .92, is presented in Table 4.

The scale types shown in Table 4 are rank order groupings of these census tracts on the single dimension of socio-economic status as defined by the subject matter content. Within the limits of the 92-per cent reproducibility, the scale scores afford precise descriptions of

TABLE 3. ITEM AND CATEGORY DEFINITIONS FOR SCALE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Item	Subject	Negative (A)	Neutral (B)	Positive (C)
1.	Median annual income of all employed persons	Lowest 7 ranks	Middle 14 ranks	Highest 7 ranks
2.	Prevalence of crowding within dwellings (1.01 or more persons per room)	Highest 7 ranks	Middle 14 ranks	Lowest 7 ranks
3.	Prevalence of home-ownership (percentage of dwellings owner-occupied)	Lowest 7 ranks	Middle 14 ranks	Highest 7 ranks
4.	Prevalence of social disorganization (percentage of families involved in crime, delinquency, divorce, etc.)	Highest 7 ranks	Middle 14 ranks	Lowest 7 ranks
5.	Educational achievement (median years of school completed by persons 25 and over)	Lowest 7 ranks	Second lowest 7 ranks	Highest 14 ranks

scale of socio-economic status rankings for the same sample of twenty-eight census tracts. Information for four of these was obtained from 1950 U. S. Census reports. Data for the fifth, pertaining to social disorganization, were procured from a Birmingham research agency.<sup>10</sup> The five items and their category definitions, selected as being generally relevant to the socio-economic status structure of the areal units under study, are listed in Table 3.

Each tract was observed for category classification on each of the five items. As indicated in Table 3, the rank position occupied by a tract on any one of the items

the ecological patterning of these social characteristics.

For these particular areal units, the special cumulative order of "difficulty" (1-3-4-2-5) of the items indicates that high rank in income is the first prerequisite for a top rank (Type I) in socio-economic status. According to this arrangement, tracts in Scale Type II respond "favorably" to all except Item 1, Income, where they are in the neutral category. Thus, because of this particular ordering of the items and categories, there is an internally consistent meaning to the scale variable. Each residential area is defined according to specific spatial pattern combinations. The scale scores account for the joint relationships among the fifteen social attribute categories. Consequently, they represent a meaningful continuum of socio-economic status.

<sup>10</sup> *Social Breakdown in Birmingham and Jefferson County During 1950*, Birmingham: Research Division of the Coordinating Council of Social Forces in Cooperation with the Community Chest of Birmingham and Jefferson County, Alabama, 1951.

Therefore, as a substantive, mathematical model, this scale defines common ecological relationships underlying the social stratification system of Birmingham. In this respect, the scale analysis method provides for a more precise and systematic description of commonalities among social data distributions, and becomes an empirical tool for revealing the social ecology of the city.

as concentric circular zones or sector patterns. Several other possible research applications are also suggested. Because of their quantitative nature and mathematical properties the scale types have a statistical validity not afforded by looser constructs of "natural area," "slums," or "prestige location." For this reason they may provide a basis for more dynamic analyses of urban

TABLE 4. SCALE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS FOR TWENTY-EIGHT CENSUS TRACTS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA (COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY = .92)

Scale Type	Tract No.	Item Number and Response Category															Scale Score
		C					B					A					
		1	3	4	2	5	1	3	4	2	5	1	3	4	2	5	
I	21	X	X	X	X	X											20
I	38	X	X	X	X	X											20
I	1	X	X	X	X	X											20
I	23	X	X		X	X			X								20
II	19		X	X	X	X	X										18
II	22		X		X	X	X	X	X								18
II	4		X		X	X	X	X	X								18
III	31	X		X	X	X		X									16
III	30			X	X	X	X	X	X								16
III	47	X		X	X	X		X									16
IV	3				X	X	X	X	X	X							14
IV	50				X	X	X	X	X	X							14
IV	40	X			X	X		X	X	X							14
V	34					X	X	X	X	X							12
VI	33						X	X	X		X			X			10
VI	42						X	X		X	X						10
VI	18						X	X	X	X	X						10
VI	9						X	X	X					X	X		10
VI	8						X	X	X	X	X						10
VI	5						X	X	X	X	X						10
VI	13						X	X	X	X	X						10
IX	27				X						X	X	X				4
IX	45								X			X	X	X		X	4
XI	26											X	X	X	X	X	0
XI	44											X	X	X	X	X	0
XI	43											X	X	X	X	X	0
XI	28											X	X	X	X	X	0
XI	46											X	X	X	X	X	0
Frequency		7	7	7	14	14	14	14	7	7		7	7	7	7	7	(140)
Errors		3	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	( 11)

Such scale types, when plotted on base maps, may be most useful in comparative studies of urban spatial organization, and in this manner they may contribute to the further development and refinement of ecological theory. This would seem to be a worthwhile research effort since the socio-economic status scale types are independent of any *a priori* ecological hypotheses, such

life, such as the etiology of problem phenomena, voluntary association or social integration.

In the present context, interest in scale analysis of urban structures lies in its capability for defining multiple interdependencies among elements of the city considered as a complex socio-physical system. Specifically, the correlation between the residential de-

sirability scale and the continuum of socio-economic status, not only reveals certain linkages between the physical and social order, but also provides an estimate of the predictive value of aerial photographic data for delimiting the social areas of the city.

This relationship, testing the third underlying hypothesis of the study, was determined by the product moment correlation between the census tract scores on the two scale continua. The coefficient was found to be  $+0.88$ , representing a high positive relationship significant at less than the .001 level of confidence.<sup>11</sup> This means that for the city of Birmingham 78-per cent of the variation in socio-economic status distributions is accounted for by the variation in residential desirability as defined herein.<sup>12</sup> The nature

<sup>11</sup> The term "high" is used in describing the degree of association because of the absolute size of the coefficient and because of its relative size in comparison with social data and ecological correlations in general. Moreover, although the absolute size of the sample  $N$  of 28 is small, it represents 50 per cent of the city "universe" of such units and is, therefore, substantially high. The Fisher "Z" transformation was used to determine the significance of the coefficient. The 95-per cent confidence limits employing "t" distribution revealed a reliability of  $r = +.95$  to  $+.75$ .

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the residential desirability scale, by the nature of its content, places most emphasis on "economic ecology" or the ability to pay for preferred residential sites. A study of deviant cases, represented by the "errors" on the scale permits the interpretation that ecological variables of lesser magnitude such as "sentiment and symbolism" constitute locational forces ac-

of the association between the two patterns is more precisely described by the regression equation,  $Y_c = 2.8027 + 1.20883(X)$ .

It is quite clear that the residential desirability scale, comprising the type of data obtainable by aerial photographic interpretation, has an important predictive power for determining the ecological basis of the urban social stratification system. The content of the two scales is such that the variable  $Y$ , socio-economic status rank, combines a series of social characteristics associated with  $X$ , which in turn reflects the joint relationships of many physical structural features of the city. For this reason the regression equation may be described as a mathematical model of this city considered as a complex socio-physical system.

In summary, these findings, related to both theory and method in urban sociology, indicate that aerial photographic information may be profitably utilized to supplement and substitute for other data collection sources. Furthermore, it is clearly indicated that the Guttman scalogram method provides an excellent analytical model for research in urban structure. Finally, there appears to be some promise that further investigation of techniques and relationships suggested herein may help clarify and elaborate contemporary theory in urban ecology within a more comprehensive structure-function system framework.

counting for additional variation in socio-economic status patterning.

## URBAN STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION \*

MORRIS AXELROD

*University of Michigan*

Two views which have been stressed in the sociological literature have to do with the relation of urbanization to group membership. The more traditional view emphasizes the impersonality of relationships in the urban community, the wide importance of formal and secondary group

association, and the decline of the kinship group. The "Chicago School" of sociology was founded on the study of the unique characteristics of the city.<sup>1</sup>

The newer view, while admitting this,

\* Revised version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December, 1954.

<sup>1</sup> For the classic expression of this view, see Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24. See also the monographic literature on Chicago published in the 1930's.

gives informal group contacts a more important place.<sup>2</sup> The traditional view sees the family and the extended kin group as playing a much circumscribed role, while the second emphasizes more the changed role of the family.

The resolution of these different emphases is a critical and fundamental problem, necessary to the better understanding of community organization in particular, and social organization in general. This study did not attempt a definitive resolution of these problems but attempted rather to provide some answers to several questions bearing on the more general problem. These questions are:

1. What is the extent of participation in formal groups in the large urban community—that is, how many people participate in formal groups?

2. What is the extent to which various economic and social segments of the community are characterized by distinctive or different patterns of group participation?

3. What is the extent of participation in informal groups in the large urban community?

4. To what extent are kinship relationships important in different economic and social segments of the community?

5. In what way and to what extent is participation in formal groups related to participation in certain types of informal groups, other than the immediate family?

This paper is a report of the data obtained in one metropolitan community which bear on these questions.<sup>3</sup> The data were collected by the Detroit Area Study.<sup>4</sup> Interviews

were obtained from a cross-section sample representative of the Detroit Area population. The sample size was 749 and was a probability sample selected by the method known as "area sampling."<sup>5</sup> The generalizability of the data to this particular community is limited by the fact that the institutional population, which includes rooming houses of ten or more, dormitories, hospitals, prisons, etc., were not included in the sample. It is estimated that these comprise less than 5 per cent of the total population.

#### FORMAL GROUP ASSOCIATION<sup>6</sup>

Nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of the population are members of formal groups. Thus it is seen that membership in formal groups is widespread in this urban community, but far from inclusive of the whole adult population. The number of memberships is shown in Table 1. One-half of all the members belong to only one group, and three-quarters to one or two groups. Although membership is widespread, comparatively few people belong to more than one group.

of Michigan out of funds granted to the University by the Ford Foundation for the development of training in the behavioral sciences. The project is associated with the Department of Sociology and the Survey Research Center of the University.

<sup>5</sup> A detailed description of the sample design may be found in Leslie Kish and Lysle Sommers, *Selection of a Sample of Dwelling Units for the Detroit Metropolitan Area*, mimeographed Report of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1952.

<sup>6</sup> In general, the sense in which "formal organization" is used corresponds to that of "voluntary association" in the following quotation: "The term 'voluntary association' is used in this report to denote those groups which are private (as distinguished from public or governmental bodies) and entrance into which rests on the choice of the individual (as distinguished from involuntary formations such as family, church, and nation into which the individual is born). The term 'voluntary association' is also restricted in this report to non-profit voluntary associations (as distinguished from profit making corporations, partnerships, etc.). More specifically, then, this section deals with such groups as fraternal orders, civic and reform societies, cooperatives, trade unions, trade associations, youth associations, and recreation and leisure-time groups." [*Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy* (June, 1937), Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 24.]

<sup>2</sup> Some recent works which reflect this point of view include: W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working Families," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (October, 1951), pp. 687-93; Donald L. Foley, *Neighbors or Urbanites*, Rochester, New York: Department of Sociology, The University of Rochester; Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952.

<sup>3</sup> This paper is based on work more fully reported in, Morris Axelrod, *A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community*, University of Michigan: Doctoral Dissertation, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> The Detroit Area Study is a graduate training program and research facility which at the time was supported by the Committee on Individual Behavior and Human Relations of the University



TABLE 1. NUMBER OF FORMAL GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Groups	Per Cent of Population	Per Cent of Members
None	37	
One	31	50
Two	16	26
Three	8	13
Four	4	6
Five	2	3
Six or more	2	2
Total	100	100
Number of cases	749	471

Participation in formal groups may also vary in intensity. Table 2 shows how the population is distributed from nominal and inactive membership to a high degree of involvement. Among members about one-quarter had not attended any meetings during the three months preceding the study, one third had attended rarely, and one-quarter had attended frequently. The remaining one-fifth of the members can be considered as very active in that they not only attend frequently, but hold office, are

TABLE 2. EXTENT OF FORMAL GROUP PARTICIPATION

Formal Group Participation	Per Cent of Population	Per Cent of Members
Non-members		
No association	20	
Church only	17	
Total	37	
Members		
Never attends*	15	24
Attends rarely†	22	34
Attends frequently‡	14	23
Very active§	12	19
Total	63	100
Grand Total	100	100
Number of cases	749	471

\* Includes members who had attended no meetings in the three month period preceding the interview.

† Includes members who reported attending one or two meetings in the three month period preceding the interview.

‡ Includes members who reported attending at least three meetings in the three month period preceding the interview.

§ Includes members who reported attending at least three meetings in the three month period preceding the interview and were additionally active in one of the following ways: holding office, having committee membership, participating outside of regular meetings on at least two occasions during the three month period.

committee members, or are active in other ways.

The extent of participation in formal groups was found to vary for different subgroups in the population. The greatest difference occurred between groups varying in amount of education, family head's occupation and in family income. These, of course, are all highly interrelated as measures of socio-economic status apart from their independent effects.

Table 3a demonstrates that extent of involvement varies with income: higher income is associated with a greater probability of membership and higher activity. Less than one-half of those whose family income is under \$3000 have formal group membership, while twice this proportion among those whose family earnings exceed \$7000 are group members.

The effect of education is shown in Table 3b. Education is quite strikingly related to the extent of formal group participation. More than three-quarters of all persons with some college experience have formal group membership, while only half of those with grade school have formal group membership.

The relationship between formal group

TABLE 3. EXTENT OF FORMAL GROUP PARTICIPATION FOR SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

	Per Cent Who Are Members	Per Cent Who Are Very Active	Number of Cases
a. Family Income			
Under \$3000	42	8	106
\$3000-3999	66	9	164
\$4000-4999	67	14	138
\$5000-5999	62	12	102
\$6000-6999	65	12	77
\$7000 and over	81	21	116
b. Education			
0-6 years	52	2	92
7-8	60	9	158
9-12 years	63	14	402
some college	78	19	95
c. Occupation of Family Head			
Service worker or laborer	50	19	36
Operative	40	8	107
Craftsmen, formen, etc.	40	11	93
Clerical, sales, etc.	62	21	37
Professional, managers, and proprietors	61	11	70

participation and occupation of the head of the family is shown in Table 3c. This table suggests that where the head is engaged in a white-collar occupation, the family member is somewhat more likely to belong to a formal group.

Social status as inferred from income, occupation, and education may be viewed as an index to a person's power position in the social structure. We expect the high status person to join with others, who are in a similar position, in such organizations as will safeguard his position. In addition, high status represents a convergence of many kinds of interests arising in part from higher education, more and more varied contacts, and interaction arising from demands of the occupational role. The factory worker at the conclusion of his day's work may dismiss his work from his mind. The professional or the executive finds the dividing line between his work and his other activities a tenuous one.

Apart from these specifics which contribute and are related to status, status once achieved becomes a value which must be maintained. Exclusive clubs, rather than inclusive clubs, are instruments for maintaining this status. Higher status roles carry the obligation of participation in various kinds of community activity. Community Chest activities are almost obligatory on the part of the junior executive. Some memberships such as the country club are the conspicuous trappings of status. In this connection Svend Riemer has observed, "The social assets of belonging to the right country club, the right church, and the right service club, and participating in charities are ignored only at the cost of economic loss."<sup>7</sup>

It was found that a large proportion of the whole population are members of formal organizations, although not many are active. It is not surprising this should be true for a large complex population such as we are concerned with here. The secondary groups link together the various roles necessary to maintain the routine activities of the community in meeting its daily needs. As noted earlier, in the view of traditional sociology, this was considered the main way in which a large urban community is integrated.

<sup>7</sup> *The Modern City*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, p. 208.

#### INFORMAL GROUP ASSOCIATION

A principal function of informal association seems to be that of creating cohesive and common values in the population. Apart from the functional integration of specialized roles into working relationships through the specification of proper role behaviors associated with the various socio-economic roles, there are universal norms in the society which must regulate behavior. These have to do with the relations among all people and not some circumscribed segment. There are rules, standards, norms, and behaviors which all members of a given society share and that have to do with "common decency," and etiquette. An important source of such norms is the intimate informal group, such as the family and the peer group. To the extent that these assumptions are true, the question of the extent of participation in informal groups in this community is an important one.

Table 4 reports the frequency with which the general population associates with each type of informal group. More people get together frequently with their relatives outside of the immediate family than they do with friends, neighbors, and co-workers. About one-half of the population report that they see these relatives at least once a week. Nearly three-quarters see relatives about once a month or more often. This is in sharp contrast to the stereotype which pictures the city dweller as devoid of kinship associations.

TABLE 4. FREQUENCY OF ASSOCIATION WITH SEVERAL TYPES OF INFORMAL GROUPS, IN PERCENTAGE

Frequency of Association	Relatives	Friends	Neighbors	Co-workers
At least once a week	49	28	29	12
A few times a month	13	19	9	8
About once a month	12	18	9	14
Less often	22	31	50	62
Not ascertained	4	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	749	749	749	749

Although many of the functional prerequisites which previously bound members of the extended kinship group into a unity may no longer exist, the family apparently continues as a most important form of informal association. Urban man apparently does get together with his relatives more frequently

than on ceremonial occasions such as christenings, marriages, and wakes.

Of the remaining types of informal association, more people report getting together with friends (other than friends among their neighbors or work associates). Nearly two-thirds of all people see their friends at least once a month, and nearly one-half get together with their neighbors at least once a month. About one-third associate with co-workers at least once a month.

Perhaps a better picture of the total amount of such informal participation is afforded by the composite of the frequency of each of these contacts as shown in Table 5. Nearly two-thirds of the whole population get together with such groups more than once a week. About one-sixth have such informal association once a week, and nearly all of the remaining one-sixth of the population do have some informal association, if not so frequent.

TABLE 5. TOTAL FREQUENCY OF INFORMAL GROUP PARTICIPATION

Total Association with Relatives, Friends, Neighbors and Co-Workers	Per Cent of Population
At least twice a week	30
Every 4 or 5 days	35
Once a week	16
Less often	18
Never	1
Total	100
Number of cases	749

This very dense network of informal relationships must have an important effect in determining attitudes, in organizing actions, and supporting and sustaining norms.

As we have just seen, from the point of view of frequency of contact, relatives constitute the most important informal group. The rank order of the comparative importance of the types of informal groups is (1) relatives, (2) friends, (3) neighbors, (4) co-workers.

Not only does this pattern of relatives, friends, neighbors and co-workers, in that order, hold for the general population, but it is also true for almost every important segment of the population we have studied. Whether people are young or old, teachers or laborers, high or low in social status, they

are more likely, with only a few exceptions, to get together frequently with their relatives outside of the immediate family than with any other type of informal group. Some examples of this are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. TYPES OF INFORMAL GROUPS WITH WHICH PEOPLE HAVE FREQUENT ASSOCIATION BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, IN PERCENTAGES \*

	Relatives	Friends	Neighbors	Co-Workers	No. of Cases
a. Social Status †					
1 (low)	60	34	37	18	104
2	64	50	48	19	108
3	62	47	37	20	97
4	74	55	28	22	111
5	65	54	37	23	87
6 (high)	58	62	41	28	106
b. Family Income					
Under \$3000	52	37	37	12	106
\$3000-3999	68	50	39	19	164
\$4000-4999	67	48	40	22	138
\$5000-5999	74	43	35	25	102
\$6000-6999	64	44	29	23	77
\$7000 and over	54	57	44	28	116
c. Education					
0-6 years	53	24	26	8	92
7-8 years	59	42	40	13	158
9-12 years	69	61	39	25	402
some college	50	61	37	25	95

\* "Frequent association" is defined as getting together with the specified type of informal group at least a few times a month.

† The measure of "social status" used was an index constructed by Gerhard E. Lenski and Werner Landecker. Its components are education, income, occupation, and ethnic background of the head of the family. These components were weighted equally, and each individual's score was based on the percentile rank in the population of each of his component characteristics. Thus the status score is an average of the percentile ranks for each person.

The extended family may have lost its function as an economic producing unit in the city, but relatives continue to be an important source of companionship and mutual support, to judge from the frequency with which people in this urban population see their relatives.

It seems clear that the school of urban sociologists which has emphasized the decline of the kinship relationship has exaggerated a trend to an extreme which is inconsistent with the facts obtained here.

This consistency in pattern of association with relatives, friends, neighbors, and co-workers does not hold for the small group with exceptionally high status, high income, or some college education. Within each of the highest categories, friends tend to replace relatives as the group seen frequently by most persons. Even among these exceptional groups, however, from one-half to three-quarters get together with their relatives frequently.

One may speculate that education and sophistication give the higher status individual resources for integration which are more frequently provided by the family in the general population.

No substantiation of the view that formal association substitutes for informal association was found in this study. On the contrary, there is some suggestion, in Table 7, that they vary directly. Although there are no sharp differences, the relationship is in a positive direction.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS<sup>\*</sup>

Several of the findings which emerged from the study of one urban community:

1. A majority of the population had formal group membership. However, membership was neither markedly intensive nor extensive for most organizational members, and at least

<sup>\*</sup> The extent to which these findings are applicable to other metropolitan communities is limited by the fact that only one community has been studied at one point in time. The characteristics of Detroit—a large population, a history of fairly rapid population growth, a high degree of industrialization and occupational specialization, and a heterogeneous population—are almost ideal-typical of the modern urban community. These data provide a benchmark from which we can observe other communities as well as this one over time.

TABLE 7. EXTENT OF FORMAL GROUP ASSOCIATION BY EXTENT OF INFORMAL GROUP ASSOCIATION, IN PERCENTAGES

	Number of Informal Contacts in Two Month Period			
	0-4	5-12	13-19	20 and over
Non-members	56	41	32	32
Members	44	59	68	68
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	71	229	225	224

one-third of the population had no such membership.

2. Formal group membership and participation were not randomly distributed throughout the population, but were related to what are considered to be some basic and fundamental differentiating characteristics in our society.

3. In the population studied informal group association was well-nigh universal with only a small segment entirely devoid of such association.

4. Relatives emerged as the most important type of informal group association.

5. Formal and informal group participation were found to vary positively together.

Formally organized associations have unquestionably an important role in the urban community. The ultimate logic of urban life might conceivably still be towards a universal and intensive membership in such groups. However, in the present scene their *direct* influence does not touch a large part of the population. The less than massive character of participation in formal organizations suggests that insofar as such organizations exercise any pervasive influence in the urban community, it may be through the links between its minority of active members and the underlying network of informal association in the community at large.



## URBANISM RECONSIDERED: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LOCAL AREAS IN A METROPOLIS \*

SCOTT GREER  
Occidental College

THE investigation of the internal differentiation of urban population has been concerned chiefly with economic rank and ethnic diversity, and with the differences which accompany variations in these factors. Such studies throw little light upon the broad, non-ethnic, cultural differences generated in the metropolitan environment, i.e., upon "urbanism as a way of life." While there has been much concern, theoretically, with the effects of the metropolitan ambit upon all social relationships, most of the empirical basis of urban theory has been the study of small "natural areas" or the study of gross regularities in census data, arranged spatially for analysis.

Perhaps the best evidence bearing upon this larger question of "urbanism" has been the study of urban neighborhoods. The work of Donald Foley, for example, indicates that in a sample of Rochester residents (1) the neighborhood pattern still exists to some degree, but, (2) many individuals do not neighbor and do not consider their local area to be a social community.<sup>1</sup> Such studies approach the propositions that urban society is functionally rather than spatially organized and that urbanites are mobile, anonymous, and lacking in identification with their local area.

To gauge the generality of Foley's conclusions, however, one needs to know where the neighborhoods he studied fit in an array of neighborhoods. Because wide variation exists, the relation between the area studied

and others is crucial for the hypothesis tested; most of Rochester may be much more neighborhood oriented, or much less so, than the area studied.

The Shevky-Bell typology of urban sub-areas is useful in this connection, for it allows any census tract to be located in three different arrays by means of three indices constructed from census data.<sup>2</sup> It is hypothesized that these represent three dimensions within urban social space, each statistically unidimensional and independent of the others. The dimensions are social rank, segregation, and urbanization.<sup>3</sup> The last largely measures differences in family structure, and, it is assumed, indicates corollary differences in behavior. Thus, when social rank and segregation are controlled, differences in the index of urbanization for specific tract populations should indicate consistent variations in social behavior. One purpose of the present research was to determine the nature of such corollary differences, and particularly differences in social participation.

This report is based upon a pilot study of differences in social participation between sample populations in two Los Angeles areas (census tracts 35 and 63).<sup>4</sup> The two tract populations are nearly identical with respect to two of the indices (social rank and segregation) and differ on the third, urbanization.

<sup>2</sup> Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955. See also, Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the statistical analysis and testing of the typology, see Wendell Bell, "Economic, Family, and Ethnic Status," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (February, 1955), pp. 45-52.

<sup>4</sup> The extension of the study to include two additional sample tracts will be reported later; results are generally consistent with the findings reported here. Rank and segregation are the same in the added tract samples, but the new tracts extend to the extremes of the urbanization index within middle economic rank.

\* Revised version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1954. The study was carried out by the Laboratory in Urban Culture, a research facility of Occidental College, with the support of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation. I wish to express gratitude to Ella Kube, Research Associate, for assistance in the computation and analysis upon which the report is based.

<sup>1</sup> Donald L. Foley, "Neighbors or Urbanites? The Study of a Rochester District," *The University of Rochester's Studies of Metropolitan Rochester*, Rochester, New York, 1952.

For simplicity in presentation the tract with the higher urbanization index score (tract 63) will hereafter be called the high-urban tract, the other (tract 35) the low-urban tract.

The two sample tracts compare as follows.

*History:* the low-urban tract is in an area that thirty years ago was separately incorporated for a brief time; the high-urban tract has always been a part of Los Angeles proper.

*Location:* the low-urban tract is approximately fifteen minutes from the city center by auto; the high-urban tract is about half as far. (The low-urban tract is adjacent to the competing centers of Glendale and Pasadena.)

*Social rank:* both tracts fall within the large middle range, being slightly above the median for the County. The social rank index for the low-urban tract is 68, for the high-urban tract, 66, as of the 1950 census of population, based upon the standard scores developed by Shevky with 1940 census data. *Ethnicity:* in neither tract does the foreign-born and non-white population amount to more than 5 per cent. *Urbanization:* the two tracts represent the extremes of the middle range of the urbanization index, within which a majority of the Los Angeles County census tracts lie. The low-urban tract had an urbanization index of 41, the high-urban tract, 57. There are much more highly urban tracts at middle rank, and much lower ones, in the County. The sample is weighted against the instrument, so that if striking and consistent variations appear in this middle range, they probably indicate more extreme variations at the poles.

#### THE FIELD PROCEDURE AND THE SAMPLE

The field study included scheduled interviews on the participation of adult members of households in formal organizations, neighboring, cultural events, visiting, domestic activities, the mass media, the kin group, and other social structures.

Visiting was measured by questions concerning friends or relatives who were visited regularly at least once a month. The respondent was asked to give the address of the residence visited, both as a control over the accuracy of the information, and as a clue to social space position in the Shevky-Bell typology. Neighboring was measured by Wallin's "Neighborliness Scale," which was de-

veloped for a similar population in Palo Alto, California.<sup>5</sup> The scale assumes that neighborliness is unidimensional and can be measured by a small battery of questions referring to the degree of interaction with neighbors. The reproducibility for the present sample has not yet been determined. Cultural events were recorded and categorized in the manner devised by Queen, in his studies of social participation in St. Louis.<sup>6</sup> Individuals were asked about their attendance in the past month at movies, classes and study groups, athletic contests, lectures and speeches, museums and exhibits, musical events, and stage shows. They were also asked the location of the event and who accompanied them. Special schedules of questions were developed for the purpose of describing participation in formal organizations of various sorts, definitions of the local area, domestic participation, neighborhood play of children, and other aspects of participation which will not be reported here.

An area random sample was interviewed in each tract, with 161 respondents in the low-urban tract, 150 in the high-urban tract. These households represented approximately 7 per cent of the populations of the two census tracts chosen. The housewife was the respondent, and the response rate was over 85 per cent, being higher in the low-urban area. Interviewers were advanced and graduate students at Occidental College, and the average interview time was approximately one hour.

The two samples of households compare as follows:

*Income:* 20 per cent of the households in each area had less than \$3,000 annually; 37 per cent in the low-urban area and 31 per cent in the high-urban area had annual incomes between \$3,000 and \$5,000; 35 per cent in the low-urban area and 38 per cent in the high-urban area had over \$5,000 annually. Those who did not know or declined to state were 8 per cent in the low-urban area, 11 per cent in the high-urban area. The chief difference was a preponderance of middle income households in the low-urban area, with

<sup>5</sup> Paul Wallin, "A Guttman Scale for Measuring Women's Neighborliness," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (November, 1953), pp. 243-246.

<sup>6</sup> Stuart A. Queen, "Social Participation in Relation to Social Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (April, 1949), pp. 251-256.

somewhat more heterogeneity in the high-urban area. *Occupation:* using the blue collar-white collar break, the samples were identical. In both areas, 72 per cent of the employed respondents were white-collar. Seventy-two per cent of the husbands in each area were in clerical jobs or higher.

*Education:* if education is divided into three classes, elementary or less, some high school or completed high school, and some college or more, the low-urban sample is slightly more homogeneous. Both respondents and husbands are 60 per cent high-school educated, with approximately 15 per cent below and 25 per cent above this class. In the high-urban sample the middle category accounted for only 50 per cent, with approximately 25 per cent below and 25 per cent above this class.

Such differences are not great but seem to indicate a consistent tendency towards somewhat more heterogeneity in the high-urban sample. It includes a slightly higher proportion of low-income, low-education persons, and also a slightly higher proportion of high-income, high-education persons. The high-urban sample is also more heterogeneous with respect to ethnicity. Although the percentage of non-white and foreign-born is similar in the two samples (9 for the low-urban sample, 11 for the high-urban) differences in religious affiliation indicate more ethnic diversity in the high-urban sample.

The low-urban area sample is much more homogeneous and Protestant in affiliation and preference. The high-urban sample, however, includes sizeable representations of the minority American religious beliefs: Jews and Roman Catholics are, together, only 20 per cent of the low-urban sample; they are 37 per cent of the high-urban sample. This heterogeneous and non-Protestant population in the high-urban sample is probably, to a large degree, made up of second and later generation ethnic individuals. Since the census tracts with high indexes of segregation in middle economic ranks are usually found in the more highly urbanized areas of the Shevky-Bell grid, it is likely that "later generation ethnics" (not identified in census data) are also concentrated in the more highly urbanized tracts of the middle social rank.

Such a correlation between second and later generation ethnic populations and

urbanization, however, does not allow the reduction of the urbanization dimension to the ethnic component. In truth, many of these individuals are in process of leaving their ethnic status behind. Instead, it may be said that one of the attributes indicated by the urbanization index is apt to be the presence of second and later generation ethnics in the midst of acculturation. Such heterogeneity between faiths and within faiths is one of the conditions that give highly urbanized populations their particular characteristics.

#### EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Table 1 gives differences in participation between two areas with respect to the localization of community. The low-urban sample differed sharply and consistently in the direction of more participation in the local community. Their neighboring score was higher, they were more apt to have friends in the local area, and these constituted a larger proportion of all close friends, i.e., those visited at least once a month. They were more apt to go to cultural events such as movies, athletic contests, stage shows, and study groups, in the local area, and they were more apt to use local commercial facilities of certain types.

The low-urban sample had a higher rate of membership and participation in formal organizations other than church, and, more important, a larger proportion of their organizations were local in nature. A large majority of the respondents' organizations held meetings in the local area, and although the husbands' organizations usually met outside the area, still a much larger proportion met locally than did in the high-urban sample. Furthermore, the members of formal organizations to which the low-urban sample belonged were more apt to live in the immediate local community. In the high-urban sample other members were most apt to be scattered over the metropolis as a whole.

Further indication of the differential importance the local based organization had for these two samples is the greater familiarity of the low-urban sample with local community leaders. (See Table 2.)

While the samples were equally able (and unable) to name Los Angeles leaders, there was a significantly higher proportion who

TABLE 1. LOCAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TWO URBAN AREAS

Type of Social Participation	Low Urban *	High Urban *
Per cent of respondents with high neighboring scores (Scale types 2 through 5)	67†	56†
N of respondents	(162)	(150)
Per cent of respondents with friends in the local area	50	29
N of respondents	(162)	(150)
Per cent of all respondents' friends who live in local area	41	25
N of all friends	(441)	(316)
Per cent of respondents attending cultural events in local area, of those attending any cultural events	45	18
N attending any events	(101)	(92)
Per cent of respondents' formal organizations which meet in:		
Local area	62	26
Other areas	35	71
No response	3	3
N of organizations	(126)	(67)
Per cent of respondents' formal organizations with the majority of members residing in:		
Local area	57	33
Other area	18	18
Scattered over the city	23	45
No response	2	4
N of organizations	(126)	(67)
Per cent of husbands' formal organizations (as reported by respondent) which meet in:		
Local area	21‡	5‡
Other areas	73	86
No response	6	9
N of husbands' organizations	(104)	(57)
Per cent of husbands' formal organizations (as reported by respondent) with the majority of members residing in:		
Local area	25	10
Other area	23	12
Scattered over the city	45	77
No response	7	1
N of husbands' organizations	(104)	(57)

\* P ( $\chi^2$ ) < .01, with exceptions noted below.† P ( $\chi^2$ ) slightly above .05 level:  $\chi^2=3.77$ .‡ P ( $\chi^2$ ) between .01 and .02 levels.

could name local leaders in the low-urban area sample. This probably indicates a uniform engagement of the middle-rank populations in the affairs of the metropolis as a

TABLE 2. RESPONDENTS' ABILITY TO NAME LEADERS OF THE LOCAL AREA AND OF LOS ANGELES

	Low Urban	High Urban
Per cent of respondents who could name at least one local leader	32*	21*
N of respondents	(162)	(150)
Per cent of respondents who could name at least one Los Angeles leader	38†	37†
N of respondents	(162)	(150)

\* P ( $\chi^2$ ) between .02 and .05 levels.

† Difference not significant.

whole, but definite variations in their interest and involvement with respect to local affairs.

It is sometimes stated, almost as an axiom, that the urban milieu results in the extreme attrition of kin relations. The present study indicates this to be questionable. The most important single kind of social relationship for both samples is kinship visiting. A large majority of both samples visit their kin at least once a month, and *half of each sample visit their kin at least once a week*. These data, reported in Table 3, are consistent with the findings of Bell in his comparable study of social areas in the San Francisco Bay Region.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 3. KIN VISITING IN TWO URBAN AREAS

Per Cent Visiting Kin	Low Urban *	High Urban *
Once a week or more often	49	55
At least once a month, but less than once a week	24	21
A few times a year, but less than once a month	11	8
Never	5	9
No kin in Los Angeles	11	7
N of respondents	(162)	(150)

\* No significant difference between low and high urban area samples.

Both samples indicated complacency with their neighborhood and said they were satisfied with it as a home, but in giving their reasons for liking it, they tended to differ. The low-urban sample described their area as a "little community," like a "small town,"

<sup>7</sup> Wendell Bell (with the assistance of Maryanne Force and Marion Boat), "People of the City," (processed) Stanford University Survey Research Facility, Stanford, California, 1954.



where "people are friendly and neighborly." The high-urban sample, on the other hand, most frequently mentioned the "convenience to downtown and everything," and spoke often of the "nice people" who "leave you alone and mind their own business." The high-urban sample seemed less committed to remaining in their present area—a higher proportion stating that there were other neighborhoods in the city in which they would rather live.

A tendency toward differential association with populations at a similar level of urbanization is indicated in the visiting patterns of the two samples outside their local areas. The residences of close friends and the meeting places of social circles are almost mutually exclusive for the two samples. Furthermore, when the census tracts in which are located the homes of the friends they visit are categorized by urbanization scores, clear differences appear. The low-urban sample is more apt to have friends in other low-urban areas, while the high-urban sample is apt to visit in other high-urban areas. (See Table 4.)

TABLE 4. RESIDENCE OF FRIENDS VISITED, OUTSIDE OF THE LOCAL AREA, BY URBANIZATION INDEX SCORE \*

	Low Urban †	High Urban †
Per cent of friends living in tracts with urbanization index score of		
1-20	13	12
21-40	35	25
41-60	41	33
61-80	8	19
81-100	3	11
N of friends visited	(180)	(162)

\* Friends' addresses which could not be coded (80 in the Low Urban area, 65 in the High Urban) are excluded.

†  $P (\chi^2) < .001$ .

When it is recalled that these two samples are almost identical with respect to social rank and segregation, the importance of the urbanization dimension is underlined. These visiting patterns refer to well structured friendship relations of probable importance. Such differential association may result from proximity, as well as selective visiting by levels of urbanization. The relative impor-

tance of proximity will be measured through the use of the intervening opportunities model. However, even if such differential association is to a large degree a function of spatial proximity, its significance in certain respects would remain. For, if populations at given levels of urbanization interact more intensely within those levels than with other populations, such interactions should result in fairly stable networks of informal communication and influence. The content of such communication should vary with urbanization.

#### SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

In order to investigate empirically the complex of notions surrounding the nature of urban social behavior, the Shevky-Bell typology, applied to sub-areas in Los Angeles County, was used to select two neighborhoods which differed clearly on the index of urbanization. Social rank was not used as the chief factor accounting for differential social participation, as was the case in the studies of Komarovsky, Goldhamer, and others.<sup>8</sup> Instead, rank was controlled, and the urbanization dimension was tested for broad differences in social participation.

It should be noted that this study investigates the effects of urbanization at a *particular* level of rank and segregation; at other levels, the effects of urbanization remain problematical. It is hoped that future studies will clarify, for example, the effects of differential urbanization at higher and lower social ranks, as well as in segregated populations. The Shevky-Bell typology, based upon a three dimensional attribute-space model of urban society, calls attention not only to three separate factors, but also to the possibility that the particular effects of one may be transformed as either or both of the others vary.

However, the urbanization dimension was the focus of the present study. It was not identified with the older notion of urbanism which implies that all city populations are changing in the direction of atomistic,

<sup>8</sup> Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), pp. 868-896; Herbert Goldhamer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1942.

mass society.<sup>9</sup> Instead, it was assumed that there is a continuum of alternative lifestyles at the same economic level and that these are concentrated in different urban sub-areas. In this framework, the low-urban areas are just as characteristic of modern urban society as are the high-urban areas. Both types continue to be alternatives in the urban complex. In this view, the Shevky-Bell index of urbanization is a putative means of identifying such variations in "ways of life." Instead of concentrating on urbanism as a way of life, the present study was focused upon the variations possible.

Two social aggregates, inhabiting tracts with similar economic rank and ethnicity but varying with respect to the urbanization index, were sampled. The sample populations were then studied by means of reported social participation.

The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that, where rank and ethnicity are equal, differences in the urbanization index will indicate differences in social behavior. Had the index identified populations not significantly different, doubt would have been cast upon its utility at the level of individual social behavior, for the urbanization dimension of modern society, as conceived by Shevky in his theoretical structure, implies such differences in social behavior.<sup>10</sup> However, the present study indicates that the index, constructed primarily with items related to family structure, does identify differences in social participation which are associated with variations in family structure but not derived solely from them. The general validity of the hypothesis must rest upon further studies in Los Angeles and other urban complexes. Although this study and that of Bell indicate the urbanization dimension does affect social participation to an impressive degree, the regularity with which these differences form a continuum at this intersection of social rank and segregation, and the nature of the hypothesized continuum, remain to be spelled out. Still, in the interpretation of

the findings here reported, the following implications come to mind:

1. The local area in the contemporary American metropolis may be viewed as attracting population, not only by the economic rank and ethnic composition of the population already in the area, but also by the degree of urbanization characteristic of the area—the way of life common to the older inhabitants.

2. Such areas may attract populations on at least two different functional bases: (1) the demographic and the cultural characteristics of the older settlers, who give the area its "tone," may attract people, as seems true in the low-urban sample, or, (2) the area as a socially neutral, but convenient, base of operations for various segmental interests, may attract people as in the high-urban sample. Such different principles of attraction would tend to produce greater homogeneity of background and interest in low-urban areas, and from this similarity a higher degree of community-type behavior and of conformity would be expected.

3. A continuum is hypothesized for non-segregated, middle-rank areas. At one pole lie the local areas which select a predominantly "old American" population with similar jobs, aspirations, incomes, who wish to raise children, neighbor, participate in local community groups, and, in brief, carry on a life in many ways similar to that of the small towns described by Warner and his associates.<sup>11</sup> At the other pole lie those areas of the city which are more heterogeneous, with fewer children and little interest in the local area as a social arena. Such areas may approach, in many ways, the ideal type of urban environment hypothesized by Wirth.<sup>12</sup>

4. In this perspective, the local area is important as a framework for interaction, as a "social fact," just where it is least representative of the total urban society. The small community, as studied by Warner and others, is a very poor example of the urban complex, since it will include the fewest elements of urban society as a whole. At the same time, the high-urban tract as a sample of urban society is only slightly less biased, for in it the local area as a social fact disappears altogether. Thus it is not possible to use either the model of a small, spatially enclosed community or the stereotype of the continually more atomistic mass society in

<sup>9</sup> See Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24.

<sup>10</sup> Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, especially Chapter II.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, W. Lloyd Warner and associates, *Democracy in Jonesville*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

<sup>12</sup> Wirth, *op. cit.*

describing social participation in the contemporary metropolis.

There are, however, certain common structural threads running through the fabric of modern society. As Paul Hatt noted, the indices developed by Warner and others to measure social status may be generalized to the total society, since the various methods correlate highly with one universal attribute—occupation.<sup>13</sup> The present approach is, then, to ask: How does this attribute become defined and organized, how does it influence participation, in different sub-areas of the metropolis?

A tentative answer is that the individual's social position is defined differently and his social participation is patterned differently as the focus shifts from the low-urban populations to the high-urban populations. One may envisage the low-urban areas as somewhere between the small town and the conventional picture of metropolitan living. Where the local area is a social fact, where common interests and associations obtain, generalizations derived from small community studies may have validity. For here the individual's status will result, in part, from participation in a known and used local organizational structure and from family ties that are publicly understood.

When, however, high-urban populations are considered, social participation is organized around position in other organizational contexts, as for example, the corporation,

politics, the labor union, or perhaps, as Riesman has suggested, categories derived from the popular culture of the mass media.<sup>14</sup> Here also are many individuals whose life, aside from work, is ordered by participation in small informal groups, and informal groups only, floating within the vast culture world of the market and the mass media. In such populations the locally defined community is largely irrelevant to status and participation. Associations are spread geographically, but ordered and concentrated in terms of selected interests. Family, in this context, is still important. It is slightly more important in the high-urban sample described. But it is probably much more private in its reference. In fact, kin relations may be seen as growing in importance just because of the diminished reliance placed upon neighborhood and local community.

What has been sketched above is a tentative model which will allow the use of contributions from earlier research, (studies of small cities, natural areas, the apartment house family, the suburban fringe) within a framework which integrates and orders them in relation to one another. Such a frame of reference also relates, eventually, to the increasing importance of large-scale organizations in a society which allows many alternative life patterns for individuals at the same functional and economic level.

<sup>13</sup> Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 216-222.

<sup>14</sup> David Riesman, in collaboration with Reuel Denny and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd, A Study of the Changing American Character*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, especially Chs. X, XI, XII.

## URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD TYPES AND PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS \*

WENDELL BELL AND MARYANNE T. FORCE

*Northwestern University and Stanford University*

THIS paper reports part of a study of social participation conducted in San Francisco in the spring of 1953. The investigation rested upon two main notions:

First, that the major social roles which

an individual occupies regulate the amount and nature of his participation in society. For example, if one knew a person's economic, family, and ethnic status, his age and sex, his aspirations or expectations regarding

\*The writers wish to express their appreciation to the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Stanford University Committee for Research in the Social Sciences who furnished funds for the

execution of the study of which this report is part. Harry V. Kincaid and Marion D. Boat made important contributions to this study, and we gratefully acknowledge their aid.

the roles he might achieve, and his status history with respect to these types of statuses, one should be able to predict closely that person's participation in the various activities of society.

Second, that the social type of neighborhood in which an urbanite lives is an efficient indicator of his social participation and may be a significant factor in its own right in shaping his social participation. It has been contended, for example, that social differences between the populations of urban neighborhoods can be conveniently summarized into differences of economic level, family characteristics, and ethnicity.<sup>1</sup> It is our hypothesis that neighborhood populations having different configurations with respect to these three variables will have different patterns of social participation.

This paper will be limited to an examination of the relationship between amount of formal association participation and certain of the above mentioned individual status and neighborhood differences. Other papers are in preparation dealing with additional aspects of individual social participation.

Following Komarovsky, all formally organized groups are included in our definition of formal associations "... except economic concerns (stores, corporations), governmental agencies, and schools."<sup>2</sup> Thus, all non-profit formal organizations are included unless they are part of the governmental body. "Their functions are characterized by explicit regularity and standardization—such as being identified by a name, or having officers, or having a written constitution, or having regular meetings."<sup>3</sup> This follows generally accepted definitions of "voluntary associations," "formal organizations," or "formal groups."

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

*Selection of the Neighborhoods.* Using the census tract scores given in *Social Area*

<sup>1</sup> Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Mirra Komarovsky, "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations of Two Suburban Communities," *Sociological Problems and Methods*, Volume 27, Publications of the American Sociological Society, 1933, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Morris Axelrod, "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (microfilmed), University of Michigan, 1953, pp. 14-15.

*Analysis*<sup>4</sup> four census tracts were selected in San Francisco in which to conduct the study of social participation. The identifying place names, census tract designations, and index scores for the four tracts selected are given in Table 1. It was decided to hold ethnicity

TABLE 1. IDENTIFYING PLACE NAMES, CENSUS TRACT DESIGNATIONS, AND INDEX SCORES FOR THE FOUR STUDY TRACTS \*

Index	St.			
	Mission	Pacific	Outer	Francis
	(N-8)	Heights	Mission	Wood
	(B-6)	(M-6)	(O-7)	
Economic status †	46	96	43	92
Family status ‡	28	9	67	70
Ethnic status §	14	7	20	6

\* Index scores can vary approximately from 0 to 100.

† Composed of measures of occupation and education.

‡ Composed of measures of fertility, women not in the labor force, and single family detached dwelling units.

§ Per cent of persons in the census tract who are nonwhite or foreign born white from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and French Canada.

constant as far as possible, so all four of the tracts selected contain relatively few non-whites and few members of foreign-born groups, as indicated by their relatively low scores on the index of ethnic status. Census tracts N-8 (located in the Mission district) and M-6 (located in the Outer Mission district) have low scores on the index of economic status relative to the scores of the other census tracts in the San Francisco Bay Region. The Mission population, however, is a rooming-house district with a relatively low score on the index of family status, having a low fertility ratio, many women in the labor force, and few single-family detached dwellings. The population of Outer Mission has a relatively high score on the index of family status and is characterized by high fertility ratios, few women in the labor force, and many single-family detached dwellings. Census tract B-6 is in the Pacific Heights district and is a high-rent apartment house area, having a relatively high economic level, but a low score on family status. Census tract O-7 contains the district known as St. Francis Wood and, like Pacific

<sup>4</sup> Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-66.



Heights, contains a population having high economic status, but like Outer Mission is a single family home area characterized by a high score on family status.

*Selection of the Respondents.* A probability area sample was selected for each of the study census tracts. First, a complete list of dwelling units in each of the tracts was compiled by means of standard block listing procedures. Second, a sampling interval ( $k$ ) was established for each tract, and a sample of dwellings drawn by taking a random number from 1 to  $k$  and selecting every  $k$ th dwelling unit thereafter. Third, within each sample dwelling one male over the age of 21 was selected as the respondent, thus eliminating from this study social participation differences resulting from the differential requirements of the roles of the two sexes. Dwellings containing no males over age 21 were removed from the sample, and in those which contained two or more males over age 21 one male was selected randomly from a respondent selection table provided on each interview schedule. In order to assure randomness in the sample no substitutions were allowed.

*Response Rates.* St. Francis Wood (high family and high economic status) had the highest per cent of completed interviews with 90.8 per cent of the number of qualified respondents in the sample fully completing their interviews. Pacific Heights (low family and high economic status) had a response rate of 84.9 per cent, Mission (low family and low economic status) had 83.9 per cent, and Outer Mission (high family and low economic status) had 83.3 per cent. Refusal rates were higher in the two low economic status neighborhoods than in the two high economic status neighborhoods, but refusals accounted for most of the loss in completed interviews in all four neighborhoods. People seemed to be more suspicious of the interviewers in Outer Mission than in the other tracts, although a recent robbery in Mission influenced several respondents not to open the doors to their rooms until they had made certain of the identity of the interviewer. The resistance occurred in spite of several articles in the metropolitan papers describing the study, television programs featuring a discussion of the study, advance letters to the respondents, official credentials carried by each interviewer, and the co-operation of the

Police Department in identifying *bona fide* interviewers to the householders.

#### AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

##### *Number of Formal Group Memberships.*

One measure of formal group participation used in many previous studies and employed in this study is the sheer number of memberships in formal associations. Table 2 contains the per cent of persons in each neighborhood who belong to a certain number of formal organizations.<sup>5</sup> From Table 2 it can be seen that in each of the different neighborhoods more than 76 per cent of the men belong to at least one formal group. This finding is comparable to the findings of other studies of formal group membership in urban areas. Goldhamer<sup>6</sup> in his study of Chicago residents found that 70 per cent of the men belonged to one or more formal groups, and Axelrod<sup>7</sup> found that 80 per cent of the men in his Detroit sample belonged to at least one formal group.

However, these figures indicate considerably higher membership in one or more formal associations than is given in some other studies of formal participation among urban dwellers, especially among those men who are blue-collar workers. Komarovsky,<sup>8</sup> for example, reports that 60 per cent of the working class men belong to no formal associations. Dotson<sup>9</sup> presents similar findings for a later period in New Haven. It is not clear whether the inconsistency of our findings with those of Komarovsky and Dotson is due to regional differences, Komarovsky's low response rate (29 per cent of the questionnaires were returned), Dotson's small sample of men ( $N=50$ ), or variations in degree of unionization. (If memberships

<sup>5</sup> General church membership is not included, but memberships in church-connected groups are included throughout this paper.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Goldhamer, "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (microfilmed), University of Chicago, 1942.

<sup>7</sup> Axelrod, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), pp. 686-698.

<sup>9</sup> Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (October, 1951), pp. 687-93.

in labor unions were not counted in our two low economic level neighborhoods, then our findings would correspond to theirs.)

Although the data shown in Table 2 support the contention that the formal association is widespread throughout diverse social groupings in an urban environment, only about a third or less of the men in every neighborhood, except St. Francis Wood, belong to three or more formal associations.

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF MEN HAVING MEMBERSHIP IN A CERTAIN NUMBER OF FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS

Number of Groups	Low Family Low Econ. (Mission) Per Cent	Low Family High Econ. (Pacific Heights) Per Cent	High Family Low Econ. (Outer Mission) Per Cent	High Family High Econ. (St. Francis Wood) Per Cent
Seven or more	1.7	11.0	0	19.0
Six	0	2.6	0	4.2
Five	1.2	3.2	1.2	11.9
Four	2.3	7.3	2.9	13.7
Three	11.6	11.5	3.8	17.3
Two	22.1	23.0	22.4	13.7
One	37.8	19.9	44.7	13.1
None	23.3	21.5	19.4	7.1
Not ascertained	0	0	0.6	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(172)	(191)	(170)	(168)

Comparing the tracts with respect to the number of formal group memberships, we find that the high economic status tracts contain relatively more men who belong to a greater number of formal associations than do the low economic status tracts. The largest percentage (66.1 per cent) of men belonging to three or more associations is in St. Francis Wood, and the next largest percentage (35.6 per cent) is in Pacific Heights. The two low economic level neighborhoods at each level of family status have significantly ( $p < .01$ ) lower percentages of men who report that they belong to three or more associations with 16.8 per cent so reporting in Mission and 12.9 per cent so reporting in Outer Mission.

Differences between neighborhoods having different family status, holding economic status constant, are not consistent, although at the high economic level St. Francis Wood, having high family status, has a much larger percentage of men who belong to three or more associations than does Pacific Heights, the low family status neighborhood. Pacific Heights also contains a larger percentage of

men who belong to no associations than does St. Francis Wood.

*Attendance at Formal Group Meetings.* The mere number of memberships does not give adequate information regarding the amount of participation in formal associations, since membership in some cases may be only nominal. Table 3 contains the frequency of attendance at all formal association meetings for these men who report belonging to at least one such organization.<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 3. PER CENT OF FORMAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERS WHO ATTEND A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF MEETINGS

Frequency of Attendance	Low Family Low Econ. (Mission) Per Cent	Low Family High Econ. (Pacific Heights) Per Cent	High Family Low Econ. (Outer Mission) Per Cent	High Family High Econ. (St. Francis Wood) Per Cent
More than once a week	8.3	30.9	6.6	26.9
About once a week	8.3	15.4	10.9	14.1
A few times a month	28.8	17.4	16.1	23.1
About once a month	17.4	6.7	16.1	6.4
A few times a year	19.0	12.1	25.5	19.9
About once a year	6.1	3.4	6.6	3.3
Never	12.1	14.1	17.5	5.8
Not ascertained	0	0	0.7	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of members	(132)	(149)	(137)	(156)

In St. Francis Wood only 5.8 per cent, in Mission 12.1 per cent, in Pacific Heights 14.1 per cent, and in Outer Mission 17.5 per cent of the members of formal groups do not attend meetings. Thus, the vast majority of the members in each of the neighborhoods, in excess of 82 per cent, attend at least one meeting a year.

This finding is fairly consistent with those of Axelrod<sup>11</sup> who found that 22 per cent of the men who belong to formal groups in Detroit attended no formal group meetings during a three month period, although Dotson<sup>12</sup> found that of the number of memberships held by men in his sample in New Haven as many as one-third were inactive.

When the members in the four neighbor-

<sup>10</sup> General church attendance is not included here or elsewhere in this paper, but attendance at meetings of church-connected groups is included.

<sup>11</sup> Axelrod, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Dotson, *op. cit.*

hoods are compared with respect to the frequency of formal association attendance, marked differences between neighborhoods appear. Again, the greatest amount of formal participation occurs among the persons who live in the high economic status neighborhoods. Men living in St. Francis Wood and Pacific Heights who belong to formal associations attend more frequently than those living in Mission and Outer Mission. In Pacific Heights 30.9 per cent of the members attend meetings more than once a week compared to only 8.3 per cent in Mission ( $p < .01$ ); in St. Francis Wood 26.7 per cent of the members attend meetings more than once a week compared to only 6.6 per cent in Outer Mission ( $p < .01$ ).

Considering those men who belong to formal associations but who attend only about once a year or less, it may be noted that Pacific Heights, the high economic, low family status neighborhood, has almost as large a percentage of men who are relatively isolated from social contacts in formal groups as the two low economic status neighborhoods. Since Pacific Heights, Mission, and Outer Mission are the neighborhoods with the largest percentages of men who do not belong to formal groups, it is evident that sizeable segments of the population in these three neighborhoods are socially isolated from this form of participation. This is consistent with the general conclusion of Komarovsky who says with respect to formal group participation that a large segment of the population, particularly the lower social and economic level "... is cut off from channels of power, information, growth and a sense of participation in purposive social action."<sup>18</sup> We would add to this generalization that even on the higher economic levels a significant segment of those men living in neighborhoods of low family status are similarly isolated.

*Office Holding in Formal Associations.* Generally, holding positions of leadership in a formal association denotes more active participation in the group than not holding positions of leadership. Thus, a third measure of formal association participation used in this study, and one which indicates the relative power position of the individual

within the association, is whether or not the individual holds office in the formal associations to which he belongs. Table 4 contains a summary presentation of this material. Consistent with our other findings, the high economic status neighborhoods contain a larger percentage of members who hold office in a formal association than do the low economic status neighborhoods at each level of family status. Pacific Heights (24.5 per cent) contains a larger percentage than Mission (13.0 per cent) ( $p < .05$ ), and St. Francis Wood (34.8 per cent) contains a larger percentage than Outer Mission (11.6 per cent) ( $p < .01$ ).

Although no difference appears between the two low economic status neighbor-

TABLE 4. PER CENT OF FORMAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERS WHO HOLD OFFICES

	Low Family Low Econ. (Mission) Per Cent	Low Family High Econ. (Pacific Heights) Per Cent	High Family Low Econ. (Outer Mission) Per Cent	High Family High Econ. (St. Francis Wood) Per Cent
Holds Office				
Yes	13.0	24.5	11.6	34.8
No	86.3	74.8	87.7	65.2
Not ascertained	0.7	0.7	0.7	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(131)	(151)	(138)	(155)

hoods, the relative number of office holders is somewhat higher in St. Francis Wood (high economic and high family status) than it is in Pacific Heights (high economic and low family status). Our findings consistently show that the higher economic status neighborhoods contain relatively more men who belong to formal associations, more members who frequently attend meetings, and more members who hold office in formal associations when compared with neighborhoods of a lower economic level.

The differences by family status are not so large nor so consistent, although at the high economic status level, the lower family status neighborhood contains a higher percentage of men who are socially isolated with respect to formal association participation by all three measures of participation used here than the higher family status neighborhood contains.

<sup>18</sup> Komarovsky, 1946, *op. cit.*, p. 698.

INDIVIDUAL AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
CHARACTERISTICS

*Education, Occupation, and Income.* Thus far in the analysis the discussion has been limited to the formal association participation of men as that behavior is related to the social type of neighborhood in which the men live. In effect, we have been assigning to each man his neighborhood scores for economic and family status, and relating his formal association behavior to these scores. However, the neighborhoods are not completely homogeneous with respect to economic and family status; that is, each man by some measure of his own individual economic or family status does not necessarily have a score which equals the average for his neighborhood. A neighborhood's score has been referred to as a unit variable, and an individual's own score as a personal variable.<sup>14</sup> In this section we wish to explore further the relationship between economic position and formal association by tabulating these two types of variables simultaneously.

Since the most significant and consistent findings concern economic and not family status, the study neighborhoods have been grouped so that the two low economic status neighborhoods, Mission and Outer Mission, are together, and the two high economic status neighborhoods, Pacific Heights and St. Francis Wood, are together. Education, occupation, and annual family income were taken as measures of personal economic status. As is shown in Table 5, the high economic status neighborhoods contain relatively more men with higher education, with white collar occupations, and with higher incomes; and the low economic status neighborhoods contain relatively more men with lower education, blue collar occupations, and lower incomes. However, there is a small percentage of men living in the high economic status neighborhoods who have either relatively low education, blue collar jobs, or relatively low incomes, that is, who

would be classified as low economic status on the basis of personal variables even though they are living in high economic status neighborhoods. Similarly, there are

TABLE 5. PER CENT OF MEN HAVING SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Socio-Economic Characteristics	Neighborhood Characteristics	
	Low Economic Status (Mission and Outer Mission) Per Cent	High Economic Status (Pacific Heights and St. Francis Wood) Per Cent
Education		
Some college or more	9.6	50.4
Completed high school only	24.6	25.6
Some high school	23.7	13.1
Grade school or less	42.1	10.9
Not ascertained	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(342)	(359)
Occupation		
Profs., mgrs., props., and offs.	12.9	67.4
Sales, clerical, and kind. workers	8.5	21.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and operatives	57.0	8.6
Service workers and laborers	21.6	2.5
Not ascertained	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(342)	(359)
Income		
\$10,000 and over	2.0	41.5
6,000-9,999	18.4	28.7
3,000-5,999	65.0	20.9
0-2,999	14.0	5.3
Not ascertained	0.6	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(342)	(359)

in the low economic status neighborhoods small percentages of men who would be classified as high economic status on the basis of their personal ratings on education, occupation, and income. The question arises whether differences in amount of formal association participation between high and

<sup>14</sup> Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices," in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (editors), *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. 187-92.



low economic status neighborhoods still exist when controls are introduced for personal economic status.

Table 6 shows the per cent of men who attend formal association meetings frequently by the average economic status of the neighborhood and by the respondent's own educa-

TABLE 6. PER CENT OF MEN WHO ATTEND FORMAL ASSOCIATION MEETINGS FREQUENTLY BY NEIGHBORHOOD AND INDIVIDUAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS \*

Individual Socio-Economic Characteristics	Neighborhood Characteristics	
	Low Economic Status (Mission and Outer Mission) Per Cent	High Economic Status (Pacific Heights and St. Francis Wood) Per Cent
<b>Education</b>		
Some college or more	27.3 (33)	46.4 (181)
Completed high school only	14.5 (83)	28.3 (92)
Some high school	17.3 (81)	30.4 (46)
Grade school or less	7.6 (144)	23.1 (39)
<b>Occupation</b>		
Prof., mgrs., props., and offs.	32.6 (43)	42.7 (241)
Sales, clerical, and kind. workers	20.7 (29)	26.3 (76)
Craftsmen, foremen, and operatives	9.3 (194)	22.6 (31)
Service workers and laborers	10.8 (74)	33.3 (9)
<b>Income</b>		
\$10,000 and over	0.0 (4)	53.4 (148)
6,000-9,999	16.9 (65)	29.1 (103)
3,000-5,999	13.1 (222)	20.0 (75)
0-2,999	12.5 (48)	15.8 (19)

\* Men were classified frequent attenders if they attended meetings 37 or more times per year. The total number of cases on which the percentage is based is given in parentheses in each case.

tion, occupation, and family income. Comparing the percentages *within each neighborhood*, the general tendency is for relatively more frequent attenders to have higher education, white collar occupations, and higher incomes. This, of course, is consistent with the findings of many studies which have related such measures to formal association participation.

Of particular interest here, however, is the comparison of amount of formal association participation between neighborhoods, holding personal education, occupation, and income constant. For example, a larger percentage of the men who have been to college are frequent attenders in the high economic status neighborhoods than in the low economic status neighborhoods. This is also true of the men in the less educated categories. At each of the educational levels the men living in the higher economic status neighborhoods are more likely to be frequent attenders than are the men living in the lower economic status neighborhoods. ( $\chi^2=15.78$ ,  $p<.01$ )

Although not statistically significant, a similar tendency can be seen when personal occupation and income are held constant. Men with high occupations are more likely to be frequent attenders if they live in the high economic status neighborhoods. The same is true for the other occupational groups. For example, men who are service workers and laborers are more likely to be frequent attenders if they live in the high economic status neighborhoods. A similar tendency occurs between the two neighborhoods when comparing men who have similar incomes. Those who live in the high economic status neighborhoods are somewhat more likely than those who live in the low economic status neighborhoods to be frequent attenders at formal association meetings. Thus, differences in formal association participation still exist when comparing the low with the high economic status neighborhoods, even when certain measures of personal economic status are controlled.

There seem to be at least two explanations for these findings. First, the neighborhood characteristics may be an index to the self image of the individual, and second, the type of neighborhood in which a person

lives may itself be a factor in the kinds of pressures which are brought upon the individual to participate in formal associations.

In the first instance the lower economic status persons who live in high economic status neighborhoods and the higher economic status persons who live in low economic status neighborhoods may be the "deviants" who are found in many stratification studies; that is, they may be those whose objective class position does not seem congruent with their own placement of themselves. The economic characteristics of the neighborhoods in which they live, however, may give important objective clues regarding their group identification and, thereby, give indications of certain kinds of behavioral and attitudinal correlates.

The second case would involve the effect of the neighborhood in determining the role expectations of the individual after the individual became a part of the neighborhood. For example, persons living in high economic status neighborhoods may come under much greater pressures to participate in certain types of associations than do persons living in low economic status neighborhoods. Neighborhood improvement associations, civic groups, welfare and charitable organizations, etc., are more likely to have members from high economic status neighborhoods than from low economic status neighborhoods.

**Family Characteristics.** Within each of the four neighborhoods the number of formal association memberships, as well as the frequency of attendance at formal association meetings, was tabulated against marital status, age of children, employment status of wife, and type of dwelling (single family detached vs. two or more family dwelling). Although other writers report relationships between formal association participation and these variables, we find no consistent trends when making comparisons within each of the neighborhoods.

**Age Differences.** Many writers have investigated the relationship between age and formal association participation. Axelrod,<sup>15</sup> for example, in his Detroit study finds that formal association membership starts out

relatively low in early adulthood, reaches a peak in the forties, and then declines to a new low by the sixties. He also finds this same pattern for the very active participants. Goldhamer found that when participation is measured by frequency of attendance, the young men tend to exceed the older men and that participation tends to decline in the oldest age group (fifty and over).<sup>16</sup> From his study of persons aged 65 and over living in a California community of retired people, McKain noted that formal association participation declined with advanced years; about 50 per cent of those over age 65 reported that they gave less time to associations than they did when they were 50 years of age, only 1 per cent said that their social activities had increased.<sup>17</sup> These findings have been interpreted by some as indicating a structural relationship between the adult life cycle and formal association participation: ties with formal associations preventing many formal associations in the twenties; consolidation of occupational position, a home and a family leading the individual to join associations in the thirties; formal associations becoming an end in themselves in the forties and occupying more time; children grown to adulthood, retirement, and loss of physical stamina and vigor resulting in less and less formal association participation at the older age groups.<sup>18</sup>

Annual formal association attendance by age is given in Table 7 for each of the four study neighborhoods in San Francisco. These data require a revision of the above view, and constitute some evidence of the degree of difference in life styles of segments of the population at different levels of economic status. In each of the high economic status neighborhoods the per cent of men who are active participants increases with increasing age. No such relationship, however, occurs between age and formal association participation among the men who live in the low economic status neighborhoods. On the contrary, in these neighbor-

<sup>15</sup> Goldhamer, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Walter C. McKain, Jr. "The Social Participation of Old People in a California Retirement Community," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1947.

<sup>18</sup> Axelrod, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Axelrod, *op. cit.*

hoods the smallest percentage of men who attend meetings "seldom or never" is in the middle age group and the largest percentage, who are thus "socially isolated," is in the older age group. Thus, the relationship between age and formal association par-

TABLE 7. ANNUAL FORMAL ASSOCIATION ATTENDANCE BY NEIGHBORHOOD AND AGE \*

Neighborhood	Age		
	21-39 Per Cent	40-59 Per Cent	60 and Over Per Cent
Low family, low econ. (Mission)			
Attendances per year:			
37 or more	18.9	7.3	16.2
5-36	33.9	54.9	10.8
0-4	47.2	37.8	73.0
Total	100.0 (53)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (37)
Low family, high econ. (Pacific Heights)			
Attendances per year:			
37 or more	28.3	35.6	43.9
5-36	32.6	19.6	17.5
0-4	39.1	44.8	38.6
Total	100.0 (46)	100.0 (87)	100.0 (57)
High family, low econ. (Outer Mission)			
Attendances per year:			
37 or more	10.4	16.7	16.7
5-36	29.9	37.5	16.7
0-4	59.7	45.8	66.6
Total	100.0 (67)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (30)
High family, high econ. (St. Francis Wood)			
Attendances per year:			
37 or more	21.4	38.0	53.1
5-36	53.6	33.3	25.0
0-4	25.0	28.7	21.9
Total	100.0 (28)	100.0 (108)	100.0 (32)

\* The numbers on which the percentages are based are given in parentheses.

participation in the low economic status neighborhoods approximates that found by most other writers, but we find an entirely different pattern in the high economic status neighborhoods.

There is some corroboration of our find-

ings in Webber's study.<sup>19</sup> In Orlando, Florida he found that the older age group, which he defined as 70 or older, had a slightly greater nonmembership and slightly lower incidence of membership in two or more associations. However, he found the opposite relationship in a generally higher economic status community, West Palm Beach, where those under age 70 reported considerably higher nonmembership, and somewhat lower proportions in one or more associations. He also found that persons over age 70 in the latter community were more likely to attend five to nine meetings per month.<sup>20</sup>

In addition (see Table 7) the reported relationships between participation and neighborhood still hold within the three different age groups. The largest percentages of men who are frequent attenders live in Pacific Heights and St. Francis Wood, and Pacific Heights has a relatively larger number of men who attend seldom or never than does St. Francis Wood.

#### SUMMARY

This paper has attempted to relate amount of formal association participation to some of the social types of neighborhoods in which men live and to certain social roles which men occupy. A brief review of the findings follows:

1. Although the four urban neighborhoods studied were widely divergent with respect to economic level and extent of family life, over three-fourths of the men hold membership in at least one formal group, and a relatively small percentage of these are inactive.

2. Men living in the high economic status neighborhoods belong to the greater number of associations, attend more frequently, and hold office more than men living in low economic status neighborhoods.

3. Comparing the two high economic status neighborhoods, the low family status

<sup>19</sup> Irving L. Webber, "The Organized Social Life of the Retired in Two Florida Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (January, 1954), pp. 340-46.

<sup>20</sup> Foskett has recently reported similar findings for two Oregon communities. See John M. Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August, 1955), pp. 431-38.

neighborhood contains relatively more men who belong to no formal associations, who never attend meetings if they do belong, and who do not hold office than does the high family status neighborhood. No such relationship appears when comparing the two low economic status neighborhoods.

4. Within each of the neighborhoods persons of higher economic status, as indicated by their own individual educational level, income, and occupation, generally have a greater amount of associational participation than do individuals of lower economic status. However, holding individual economic status constant, persons living in the high economic status neighborhoods still have more associational participation than those living in the low economic status neighborhoods. Thus the economic characteristics of the neighborhood population as a unit may be an important indicator of the economic reference group for those living in the neigh-

borhood, and may define a set of general societal expectations with respect to associational behavior for the residents.

5. It was reported that individual family status characteristics within each of the neighborhoods, such as marital status, age of children, employment status of wife, etc., showed no consistent relationship to formal association participation.

6. Finally, the relationship between age roles and associational participation depends upon economic level. In the high economic status neighborhoods the percentage of frequent attenders increases with increasing age, but in the low economic status neighborhoods no such trend exists. In fact, in the latter type of neighborhoods the relationship between age and participation tended to follow the pattern most often reported in other studies with the older aged persons being the most isolated and the middle aged persons the least isolated.

## SUBURBANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE \*

SYLVIA FLEIS FAVA

*Brooklyn College*

**S**OCIOLOGICALLY, a distinction is customarily made between urbanism as a physical, ecological phenomenon and urbanism as a social-psychological state—in Wirth's classic phrase a "way of life." The physical aspects have been measured by population size, density, heterogeneity, land values, and other data relating to the environment; the social-psychological aspects have been measured less often and less precisely by scales of "neighboring," extent of rationality, impersonality, etc. Both rural and urban residence location (i.e., ecological ruralism or urbanism) are believed to be generally, but not inevitably, associated with the rural and urban social-psychological patterns—their "ways of life." This paper poses two questions: (1) whether suburbanism as an ecological phenomenon is also accompanied by suburbanism as a social-psychological state, that is, by suburbanism as a distinct way of life; and (2) what conceptual approaches are likely

to be fruitful in investigating the suburban way of life.

Looking first at the ecological traits of suburbs as they are revealed with great consistency in many recent studies, the following main characteristics may be delineated:

First, suburbs contain more than their proportionate share of young married couples and their children. The evidence pointing to the dominance of reproductive and child socialization functions in suburban life has been so overwhelming that some sociologists have recently concluded that a new family form—a compromise between familistic and companionship forms—may be emerging in these areas.<sup>1</sup>

Second, suburbs are made up largely of families of middle-class status. As a result of the recent expansion of middle-class occupations, movement to the suburbs has

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Jaco and I. Belknap, "Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe?" *American Sociological Review*, 18 (October, 1953), pp. 551-557.

\* Revised version of a paper read at a meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, April, 1955.



accelerated. It has been suggested that the suburbs may be serving as a "second melting pot," where many new members of the middle class take on appropriate behavior patterns and values.<sup>2</sup>

Third, certain physical qualities of residential suburbs, namely the predominance of private homes, low population density, and availability of open space, also differentiate the suburb from the city.

What then are the social-psychological accompaniments of the ecological traits of suburbs just described? There are no grounds for doubting that suburbanism is a "way of life" as well as an ecological phenomenon. However, the characteristics of suburbanism as a "way of life" are not definitely established, since comparative data on suburban social-psychological attributes are generally impressionistic and scarce. From the point of view of urban sociology the most interesting observation on the suburban way of life is that residential suburbs are said to have a high degree of neighboring and other informal primary-type group contacts. A pilot study which my students and I are now conducting among residents living outside the New York City limits but within commuting distance seems to bear out this point. The suburb's characteristics are thus contrasted with the traditionally conceived anonymity and non-neighboring of cities, and the suburb is likened to the integrated primary-group neighborhoods thought to be characteristic of ideal-typical rural areas.

The higher neighboring of residential suburbs may logically be traced to two main sets of causes: ecological selectivity, and social-psychological selectivity. The importance of ecological factors in neighboring is well-established, and the ecological conditions of suburbs—high proportion of married couples with young children, the predominance of middle class status, the homogeneity, the physical siting arrangements—are precisely those associated with high rather than with low neighboring.

It is not necessary to dispute the fact that ecological factors are important in producing high neighboring in order to

assert that social-psychological selectivity may also be important in producing this characteristic of the suburban way of life. However, such treatment as has been given in the sociological literature has rested on the assumption that suburbanism as a way of life is merely the social-psychological reflection of the ecological traits of suburbs. Thus, the allegedly higher neighboring in suburbs is customarily treated as an incidental result of the economic, demographic and physical features of suburbs. Values, attitudes, and the practices which express them are, in other words, conceived of as the dependent variable, and ecological characteristics as the independent, dominant variable. This point of view has been shown to be an oversimplification insofar as purely urban data are concerned, yet it is still being applied to data on suburbs. To illustrate the recognized oversimplification in the urban field: the internal structure of the city cannot be adequately explained solely by the economics of time and cost; "sentiment and symbolism," as Firey so aptly called them, also have to be included as causal factors.

Therefore, the hypothesis advanced here is that social-psychological selectivity is important in suburban migration, and that suburbanism as a way of life cannot be regarded simply as a corollary of the ecological aspects. Rather, that way of life should be seen as arising, at least in part, from independent causes. It appears that this hypothesis can be tested by examining the origin and attitudes of suburban residents, as contrasted with those of central-city residents.

Before assuming however, that the hypothesis is in fact researchable, three assumptions contained in it must be examined. We cannot expect suburbs to attract high proportions of individuals who are socially rural in such traits as neighboring: (1) unless neighboring can be viewed at least partially as a result of social-psychological factors; (2) unless it can be shown that suburbs offer greater opportunity for neighboring than do cities; and (3) unless rurality can be associated with neighboring.

Turning to assumption (1), the relevance of social-psychological factors to neighboring is indicated by two studies in which

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Whyte, Jr., "The Outgoing Life," *Fortune*, 49 (July, 1953), p. 86.

the practice of neighboring falls into formations suggesting psychological types. The studies are not conclusive for the present purpose, because they provide no basis for differentiating social-psychological factors from individual personality, but they support the general approach being advanced.<sup>3</sup> Other types of behavior of local-metropolitan choice, such as shopping, leadership, and newspaper reading, also show a social-psychological dimension and a division into local and non-local types.<sup>4</sup> The case for neighboring as a social-psychological trait is further strengthened by the fact that, above a certain number of years, length of residence shows no relationship with the practice of neighboring.<sup>5</sup> This seems to indicate that those who were psychologically oriented toward neighboring, engaged in neighboring soon after establishing residence, while those who were not so oriented, never took up neighboring despite the number of years of residence.

The second assumption, that neighboring is easier to practice in suburban areas than in city areas, may readily be granted on the basis of the ecological analysis previously made. However, it should be noted that this assumption is accepted on the basis of inference. With the exception of the study underway by the author the writer knows of no direct studies of city-vs.-suburban contrasts in neighboring or other kinds of informal social participation. This is a fundamental gap in our knowledge of

suburbs, and is a further indication of the conceptual and research emphasis on the ecological aspects of suburbs.

The impressionistic studies of Henderson in Levittown and similar suburbs, and of W. H. Whyte in Park Forest, Illinois,<sup>6</sup> led both of them to posit a high degree of informal association as an outstanding trait of suburban living. Dewey's study of Milwaukee's periphery concluded: "... nearly 80 per cent of fringe dwellers found in the subdivision more of a neighborly and community spirit than in the city, and many of the others found the subdivision at least equal to the city areas in this respect. ... Particularly in the smaller subdivisions there appeared to exist a genuine neighborhood primary group which had not been known in the urban areas."<sup>7</sup> Gist's examination of the urban-occupied population living in the open country outside Columbia, Missouri, gives what appear to be rather high rates of unorganized and informal social participation, including visiting and mutual assistance, although no comparative data are presented.<sup>8</sup>

The third assumption on which our hypothesis rests is the linkage between rurality and neighboring. This assumption is so fundamental in rural and urban theory that if, for example, no relationship were found between suburban neighboring and the degree of ruralism, it would raise questions about our whole traditional view of the rural way of life. Actually, the evidence that exists supports the assumption. A study by William Key found a statistically significant decline in neighboring scores as size of community increased, although the coefficient of correlation was not high.<sup>9</sup> However, there are few studies pertaining to the differential prevalence of neighboring,

<sup>3</sup> J. Bernard, "An Instrument for the Measurement of Neighborhood with Experimental Application," *Southwestern Political Science Quarterly*, 18 (September, 1937), p. 147; D. Foley, *Neighbors or Urbanites?* Rochester, New York: Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, 1952, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> C. Jonassen, *Downtown Versus Suburban Shopping*, Columbus: Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, 1953, esp. p. 45; G. Stone, "City Shopping and Urban Identification: Observations on the Social Psychology of City Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (July, 1954), pp. 36-45; R. Merton, "Patterns of Interpersonal Influence and Communications Behavior in a Local Community," *Communications Research, 1948-1949*, (P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, eds.), New York: Harper and Bros., 1949, pp. 182-183 and *passim*; M. Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, esp. pp. 140-141.

<sup>5</sup> T. Caplow and B. Forman, "Neighborhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), p. 360; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> H. Henderson, "The Mass-Produced Suburbs," *Harper's Magazine*, 207 (November, 1953), p. 28, pp. 31-37; Whyte, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> R. Dewey, "Peripheral Expansion in Milwaukee County," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (September, 1948), pp. 122-123.

<sup>8</sup> N. Gist, "Ecological Decentralization and Rural-Urban Relationships," *Rural Sociology*, 17 (December, 1952), pp. 331 ff. A study of a San Francisco suburb showed similar results; see C. Bolton, "Factors Associated with Neighborliness in a Suburban Community," Stanford University, unpublished Master's thesis, August 1948, pp. 21-39, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> W. Key, "Rural-Urban Differences in Social Participation," Washington University, St. Louis, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, June, 1953, p. 28 ff.

and this constitutes a weakness in the assumption. Key's study is the only one based on direct comparisons among a range of communities.

Upon reviewing these three assumptions as a whole, it seems reasonable to accept the hypothesis that suburban residents are a selected social-psychological type, oriented toward neighboring and other rural values and practices. The crucial test of the hypothesis is whether suburban residents actually do display a positive psychological orientation toward neighboring and manifest a high degree of neighboring which can be linked to ruralism—either of the ecological or social-psychological variety.

Insofar as previous data are available, they seem to support the hypothesis, although no available studies have permitted a definite test. Rodehaver found a high proportion—60 per cent—of the family heads who had moved from Milwaukee to its fringe were originally from rural areas.<sup>10</sup> Pappenfort's examination of the population of Hickman Hills, a suburb of Kansas City, also found most of the families who moved there from Kansas City to be former residents of small communities.<sup>11</sup> Gist found that, of the urban-employed residents of the Columbia, Missouri fringe who had moved there from Columbia, 66 per cent were originally from rural areas.<sup>12</sup> A linkage between the attraction of former rural residents to suburban areas, and social-psychological selectivity, is made probable by Martin's study of the Springfield, Oregon fringe. His relevant conclusions were that: (1) there is some indication that being satisfied with living in the suburban fringe in related to having rural values, and (2) satisfaction with living in the fringe is also correlated with having once lived in rural areas.<sup>13</sup>

At present the following hypothesis is

<sup>10</sup> M. Rodehaver, "Fringe Settlement as a Two Directional Movement," *Rural Sociology*, 12 (March, 1947), pp. 49-50.

<sup>11</sup> D. Pappenfort, "Metropolitan Dominance and Suburban Social Structure," University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, unpublished Master's thesis, 1951, cited by N. Gist, "Developing Patterns of Urban Decentralization," *Social Forces*, 30 (March, 1952), p. 261.

<sup>12</sup> Gist, "Developing Patterns . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>13</sup> W. Martin, *The Rural-Urban Fringe*, Eugene,

being tested by the author: *high neighboring is more characteristic of suburbanism than urbanism and is due to the presence in suburbs of selected demographic and socio-economic groups, sitting arrangements and other ecological characteristics; but it is also due to the selective migration to the suburbs of people predisposed to neighboring.*

The project involves interviewing a sample of central city and suburban residents, each operationally defined,<sup>14</sup> and obtaining ecological data as well as responses on two questionnaires. Wallin's neighboring scale, which has been validated in previous studies, is employed to measure informal association and contacts with geographic neighbors.<sup>15</sup> Thus, neighboring is defined operationally as the practice of certain folkways. The second questionnaire measures the social-psychological aspect of ruralism, determined from responses to a modified version of the short form of Anderson's Rural Living Opinion Scale.<sup>16</sup> Here attitudes toward farm life and those interests which are more easily attained in a non-urban setting, such as desire for home ownership, outdoor activities, etc., are examined. The aim of the study outlined is to shed light on the following questions:

1. Can the "rural" characteristics of suburbs be measured on an objective scale to further substantiate present impressions?

2. Can the suburban "way of life" be ascribed to specific processes of social-psychological selection operating in suburban migration?

Oregon: The University Press, 1953, pp. 60-68; W. Martin, "Some Social-Psychological Aspects of Adjustment to Residence Location in the Rural-Urban Fringe," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 250-253.

<sup>14</sup> "Suburbs," as the term is used in this paper, refers particularly to the residential or dormitory variety, characterized by dependence on the city occupationally and for various specialized types of shopping and recreation. A working definition would comprise the area outside the legal city limits but within commuting distance.

<sup>15</sup> P. Wallin, "A Guttman Scale for Measuring Women's Neighborliness," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (November, 1953), pp. 243-246.

<sup>16</sup> W. A. Anderson, "Rural Living Opinion Scale (Short Form)," Part IV of, "A Study of the Values in Rural Living," Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York: Department of Rural Sociology, Rural Sociology Publication 22, September, 1949.



## POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION IN CENTRAL CITIES, 1940-1950 \*

RICHARD W. REDICK  
*University of Chicago*

THIS paper supplements current studies of metropolitan areas in which emphasis has been placed mainly upon the growth of suburbs, or the metropolitan "ring." The "central city" (as defined by the U. S. Bureau of the Census) is the object of attention in this study which investigated changes in growth and in patterns of distribution of total, white, and nonwhite populations by zonal distance from the city center during the decade 1940-1950.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-three cities were selected for analysis. Fourteen of these were used in a similar study by Warren S. Thompson for the decade 1930-1940.<sup>2</sup> The remaining nine cities were selected to supplement the fourteen cities from Thompson's study so that there would be good representation of city size and regional location.<sup>3</sup> The twenty-three cities are not a representative sample of any universe of cities.

The main sources of data for this study were the census tract publications of the U. S. Bureau of the Census for 1940 and

1950, and the 1930-1940 study of central city growth by Thompson.

### POPULATION GROWTH, 1900-1950

The population growth observed for the twenty-three cities in the decades between 1900 and 1950 exhibited a general tendency toward a declining rate. This trend was most noticeable between 1900 and 1940. Between 1940 and 1950 rates of population growth were higher than those of the previous decade in all cities except Atlanta, Nashville, and Washington; but they were, in general, lower than the rates of growth of the decades prior to 1930.

If the population is broken down into its white and nonwhite components the patterns of population growth for the twenty-three cities are more clearly discerned. The white population exhibits a trend toward declining rates of growth which is similar to, but more pronounced than that for the total population. On the other hand, the percentage change in nonwhite population between 1900 and 1950 exhibits no consistent pattern for all twenty-three cities. These nonwhite growth rates, although generally high, varied considerably from city to city and from decade to decade between 1900 and 1930. During the decade 1930-1940 these rates dropped considerably for all cities, although they were somewhat higher than the rates of white population growth in this period. The decline in rates between 1930 and 1940 was not carried over, however, to the next decade. Between 1940 and 1950 rates of growth of nonwhite population increased substantially in all cities except certain of those in the South. The variation in rates of growth over the fifty year period makes it difficult to designate any trend for nonwhite population growth in the twenty-three cities, except to point out that it has tended toward relatively high rates of increase.

The rates of growth of total, white, and nonwhite population for the twenty-three

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1954.

Special acknowledgement is made to Otis Dudley Duncan of the Chicago Community Inventory for his technical and editorial assistance in the preparation of this paper. The author is also indebted to other staff members of the Inventory—Philip M. Hauser, Donald J. Bogue, and Beverly Duncan—for their suggestions and advice and their permission to utilize the facilities of the Inventory for this research.

<sup>1</sup> Concentric circle mile zones were used. Census tracts were the units of analysis and were assigned to zones in which half or more of their territory fell.

<sup>2</sup> The fourteen cities are: Boston, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Nashville, Washington, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. See Warren S. Thompson, *The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States: 1900-1940*, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Use of these cities permitted comparability of data for two decades.

<sup>3</sup> The nine cities are: Hartford, Baltimore, New Orleans, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Denver, Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle.



cities in the decade 1940-1950 are shown in Table 1.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between these

TABLE 1. RATES OF GROWTH OF TOTAL, WHITE, AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS, 1940-1950

City	Total	White	Nonwhite
Boston	4.0	1.7	68.6
Buffalo	0.7	-2.7	106.2
Hartford	6.7	3.4	78.9
Philadelphia	7.3	0.8	49.9
Pittsburgh	0.8	-2.5	32.9
Chicago	6.6	-0.1	80.5
Cincinnati	10.6	6.1	39.7
Cleveland	4.2	-3.7	76.1
Columbus	22.8	20.7	31.2
Dayton	15.7	6.7	68.1
Indianapolis	10.4	5.9	25.2
Minneapolis	6.0	5.4	60.7
St. Louis	5.3	-0.6	41.4
Atlanta	9.6	5.1	16.2
Baltimore	10.5	4.5	35.9
Nashville	4.1	-0.4	15.6
New Orleans	15.3	12.5	21.9
Washington	21.0	9.2	50.6
Denver	29.0	18.7	111.9
Los Angeles	31.0	24.1	112.3
Portland	22.3	19.9	136.0
San Francisco	22.2	15.1	155.9
Seattle	27.0	20.3	90.6

growth rates and the changes in zonal distribution of population within the cities will be discussed presently.

#### ZONAL REDISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1940-1950

On the basis of earlier investigations which found the population of central cities to be decentralizing, an hypothesis of this study was that this trend toward decentralization would continue to be observed in the decade 1940-1950. To determine the validity of this hypothesis the percentage change in population by zonal distance from the city center was computed for the decade 1940-1950 for all twenty-three cities. The pattern of growth exhibited by these changes tended to bear out the hypothesis. Zones nearest the center of the city showed either population decline or lower rates of growth than the zones in the peripheral areas of the city. In nine of

the twenty-three cities a pattern was exhibited of rates of growth in the inner-most zones higher than those of the intermediate or 'middle' zones, but generally smaller than those of the outer zones. This growth at the center was not confined to one or two census tracts, but was fairly extensive, with 50 per cent or more of the census tracts within the inner zones of each city showing population increase. In five of the nine cities (Buffalo, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and St. Louis) this increase was due entirely to growth of nonwhite population; while in the other four cities (Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Columbus) there was growth of both white and nonwhite population in the inner zones. In the remaining fourteen cities of the study the more consistent pattern of decentralization prevailed during the decade, that is, population decline at the center with increasing rates of population growth as distance from the center of the city increased.

Analysis of population growth by zonal distance from the center of the city using per cent distributions for 1940 and 1950 further supported the hypothesis of a continuing trend toward decentralization. Between 1940 and 1950 the proportion of population in the inner zones of these cities decreased and in the peripheral or outer zones increased.

Percentage change of white population by zonal distance from the city center between 1940 and 1950 clearly indicated a pattern of decentralization. In seventeen of the twenty-three cities white population exhibited varying amounts of decline in the inner zones and high rates of growth in the outer or peripheral zones. The other six cities (Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Columbus, Atlanta, and Dayton) exhibited slight increases of white population at the center. However, the increases in the peripheral zones were so much higher that decentralization occurred despite the increases at the center.

Change in the percentage distribution of white population by zone between 1940 and 1950 showed an almost consistent pattern in all twenty-three cities, that of decreasing proportions of white population in zones nearest the center of the city and proportionate increases in the outer zones. The pattern of change in percentage distribution

<sup>4</sup> A complete table showing the rates of growth of total, white, and non-white population for the decades between 1900 and 1950 may be secured by writing to the author at 10 West Erie St., Albany 8, N. Y.

TABLE 2. ILLUSTRATIVE DATA AND COMPUTATION OF INDEX OF ZONAL REDISTRIBUTION OF 1950 TOTAL POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO 1940 TOTAL POPULATION BY ZONES, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Zone	Per Cent of Total Population		Cumulative Proportion of Total Population		$X_{i-1}Y_i$	$X_iY_{i-1}$
	1940	1950	1940 $Y_i$	1950 $X_i$		
Under 1 mi.	16	13	.16	.13	.0000	.0000
1-2 "	17	14	.33	.27	.0429	.0432
2-3 "	16	15	.49	.42	.1323	.1386
3-4 "	14	15	.63	.57	.2646	.2793
4-5 "	22	26	.85	.83	.4845	.5229
5+ "	15	17	1.00	1.00	.8300	.8550
Total	100	100	....	....	1.7543	1.8390

$$\text{Index of Zonal Redistribution} = \Sigma X_{i-1}Y_i - \Sigma Y_{i-1}X_i = 1.7543 - 1.8390 = -.085.$$

of nonwhite population by zone between 1940 and 1950 was much less consistent for most of the cities. In general, however, the data seemed to indicate that there tended to be decreasing proportions of nonwhites in the inner-most zones of the city, with proportionate increases of a substantial nature in the middle zones, and increases of a lesser extent in some of the peripheral zones. In other words, a pattern of decentralization seemed to be present for nonwhite population also.

A more economical means of summarizing decentralization trends in these cities is represented by two indexes, the "index of zonal redistribution" and the "index of centralization."<sup>5</sup> The former compares the zonal distribution of one population at two points in time, whereas the latter compares the zonal distributions of two populations groups at one point in time. Both are computed in the same way. Table 2 presents illustrative data and the computation of an index of zonal redistribution for a single city.

Figure 1, showing the redistribution curve, is a graphic presentation of the data in Table 2. Along the Y axis is the cumulative per cent of the 1940 population and along the X axis is the cumulative per cent of the 1950 population. If the population in 1950

were zonally distributed as the population in 1940, all the points of the curve would fall along the diagonal. The broken line in Figure 1 is the redistribution curve and represents the distribution by zone of the 1950 population of Seattle with respect to the distribution of its 1940 population. Twice the area between the curve and the diagonal is equal to the value of the index of zonal redistribution, in this instance, to  $-.085$ . The negative value of the index and the location of the curve above the diagonal indicate that the 1950 population of Seattle is more decentralized than the 1940 population. If the curve had fallen below the diagonal, the index value would have been positive, indicating that the 1950 population was more centralized than the 1940 population.

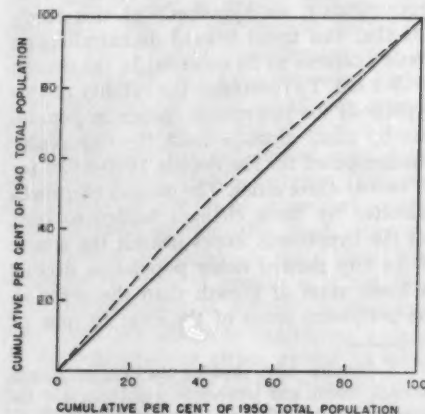


FIGURE 1. Redistribution Curve, Seattle, Wash.

<sup>5</sup> The two indexes are formally identical with the index of urbanization in Otis Dudley Duncan, "Urbanization and Retail Specialization," *Social Forces*, 30 (March, 1952), pp. 267-271; and the index of centralization in Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (March, 1955), pp. 493-503.

Indexes of zonal redistribution of 1950 population with respect to 1940 population were computed for total, white, and nonwhite populations for all twenty-three cities. These indexes are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3. INDEXES OF ZONAL REDISTRIBUTION OF 1950 POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO 1940 POPULATION

City	Total	White	Nonwhite
Boston	.001	-.008	-.037
Buffalo	-.004	-.028	-.102
Hartford	-.050	-.057	-.069
Philadelphia	-.042	-.081	-.034
Pittsburgh	-.022	-.034	-.002
Chicago	-.019	-.053	.057
Cincinnati	-.032	-.063	.005
Cleveland	-.032	-.045	-.176
Columbus	-.067	-.078	-.031
Dayton	-.046	-.033	-.159
Indianapolis	-.049	-.056	-.073
Minneapolis	-.030	-.031	-.025
St. Louis	-.001	-.023	-.106
Atlanta	-.033	-.063	-.048
Baltimore	-.048	-.119	-.074
Nashville	-.037	-.054	-.050
New Orleans	-.100	-.109	-.101
Washington	-.101	-.134	-.132
Denver	-.097	-.110	-.061
Los Angeles	-.155	-.178	-.119
Portland	-.108	-.111	-.328
San Francisco	-.087	-.105	-.344
Seattle	-.085	-.097	-.238

For total population, all of the cities except Boston had negative indexes; for white population all of the cities had negative indexes; and for nonwhite population all but two cities, Chicago and Cincinnati, had negative indexes. These indexes summarize the previous observations made with percentage distributions, namely, that total, white, and nonwhite populations in almost all of the cities had decentralized to a greater or lesser extent between 1940 and 1950.

The relationship between rates of population growth and indexes of zonal redistribution for the decade 1940-1950 was inverse; that is, the higher the rate of population growth, the greater the decentralization. The association was quite high with a correlation of  $-.89$ . For the white and nonwhite populations separately, the correlations were  $-.68$  and  $-.64$ , respectively. Therefore, it would appear that the rates of growth of the total, white, and nonwhite populations had a fairly marked effect upon their redis-

tribution during the decade in these twenty-three cities.

The effect of changes in growth and in patterns of distribution of nonwhite population on changes in distribution of white population in the twenty-three cities was found to be rather slight. The association between the rate of growth of nonwhite population and changes in distribution of white population between 1940 and 1950 was inverse, but quite low, with a correlation of only  $-.30$ . The association between change in distribution of nonwhite population and change in distribution of white population was direct, but also very low, with a correlation of  $.36$ .

The second index, the "index of centralization" of nonwhite with respect to white population, computed as of a single point in time (1940 or 1950), summarizes the comparison of the zonal distribution of the two population groups.

The first two columns of Table 4 show

TABLE 4. INDEXES OF CENTRALIZATION OF NONWHITE POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO WHITE POPULATION

City	1940	1950	Change in Indexes (1950 Minus 1940)
Boston	.447	.433	-.014
Buffalo	.765	.645	-.120
Hartford	.332	.304	-.028
Philadelphia	.477	.523	.046
Pittsburgh	.255	.263	.008
Chicago	.253	.321	.059
Cincinnati	.586	.640	.054
Cleveland	.455	.337	-.118
Columbus	.426	.467	.041
Dayton	.046	-.054	-.100
Indianapolis	.316	.312	-.004
Minneapolis	.391	.409	.018
St. Louis	.648	.583	-.065
Atlanta	.492	.504	.012
Baltimore	.611	.627	.016
Nashville	.356	.375	.019
New Orleans	.284	.264	-.020
Washington	.395	.431	.036
Denver	.523	.543	.020
Los Angeles	.284	.355	.071
Portland	.518	.320	-.198
San Francisco	.657	.423	-.234
Seattle	.578	.496	-.062

the indexes of centralization of nonwhites with respect to whites in each city for 1940 and 1950, respectively. The relatively high positive values observed for these in-

dexes indicate what is to be expected, namely, that nonwhite population is more centralized than white population. The third column of Table 4, showing the difference between the 1940 and 1950 indexes of each city, indicates the extent and direction of change in centralization of nonwhites with respect to whites during the decade. In the eleven cities where the value of the difference is negative, nonwhites have become less centralized with respect to whites. This indicates that nonwhite population is decentralizing at a rate somewhat higher than that of the white population, such that the distribution of the nonwhite population in the city is tending, however slightly, to approach the distribution of the white population. In the other twelve cities the difference in the indexes is positive, that is, nonwhites have tended to become more centralized with respect to white population. This occurs because white population is decentralizing at a rate higher than that of the nonwhite population, with the result that the zonal distributions of the two populations are tending to diverge.

The relationships of the rate of growth and the zonal redistribution of nonwhite population with the change in degree of centralization of nonwhites with respect to whites between 1940 and 1950 for the twenty-three cities were examined. An inverse association was shown to exist between rates of growth of nonwhite population and the change in the index of centralization of nonwhites with respect to whites between 1940 and 1950; that is, the higher the rate of growth of nonwhite population during the decade, the smaller the index of centralization in 1950. The degree of this association was moderately high with a correlation of  $-.60$ .

The association between the index of zonal redistribution of 1950 nonwhite population with respect to 1940 nonwhite population and the change in the index of centralization of nonwhites with respect to whites between 1940 and 1950 was shown to be direct and relatively high, with a correlation of  $.84$ . It appeared then, that the less centralized 1950 nonwhite population was with respect to 1940 nonwhite population, the smaller was the index of centralization in 1950.

Similarly, using the rate of growth of white population and the index of zonal redistribution of 1950 white population with respect to 1940 white population, the association of each of these with the change in the index of centralization of nonwhites with respect to whites between 1940 and 1950 produced correlations of only  $-.06$  and  $-.11$ , respectively. Evidently, differences in the amount and direction of change in distribution of nonwhite population with respect to white population between 1940 and 1950 in the twenty-three cities were due in large measure to the population growth and the patterns of change in distribution of the nonwhite rather than the white population.

The final hypothesis tested was that, in the twenty-three cities, zones which increased in nonwhite population would experience decline or only very slight growth in white population, whereas zones exhibiting increases in white population would have little or no increase in nonwhite population. Analysis of the zones of the twenty-three cities, utilizing the amounts of change in white and nonwhite population between 1940 and 1950, showed that 46 per cent of them fell into the category where nonwhite population increase was higher than that of the white population, and that 40 per cent had increases in white population higher than in nonwhite population.<sup>6</sup> In the remaining 14 per cent of the zones white and nonwhite population increases were similar.

#### CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing analysis of population growth and changes in zonal distribution of population between 1940 and 1950 in twenty-three central cities certain observations can be made and some conclusions can be drawn.

<sup>6</sup> Amounts of change in the white and the nonwhite population in each zone between 1940 and 1950 were expressed as percentages of the 1940 total population of the zone. The percentages were distributed into four equal groups, ranking from high to low. When the percentage changes of the white and the nonwhite population of a zone both fell into the same group, the zone was designated as having nearly equal amounts of white and nonwhite population growth. In all other instances, zones were categorized as having a higher white or a higher nonwhite population growth depending upon the ranking of the percentage changes of the two populations for each zone.



1. Population in all of the cities exhibited a pattern of decentralization during the decade. This was consistent with the trends noted by studies done for earlier decades. The pattern generally held when the population was broken down into its white and nonwhite components.

2. In nine of the twenty-three cities, however, rates of population growth in the central zones were slightly higher than those in the intermediate zones. Whether or not this represents the possibility of a reversal in the trend toward decentralization can be determined only by further research.

3. Rates of growth of total, white, and nonwhite population tended to have a fairly strong influence upon their redistribution during the decade, that is, the higher the rate of growth of a population, the greater the degree of its decentralization.

4. Changes in the distribution of white

population during the decade appeared to have been only slightly influenced by the growth and the changes in distribution of nonwhite population.

5. Nonwhite population was centralized with respect to the white population both at the beginning and the end of the decade. Nevertheless, by 1950 the distribution of nonwhite population in eleven cities was tending, however slightly, to approach that of the white population, whereas in the remaining cities the distributions of the two populations were tending toward a greater divergence.

6. The extent and direction of this change in the distribution of nonwhites with respect to whites appeared to have been due, in large measure, to the magnitude of nonwhite population growth and redistribution during the decade rather than to that of the white population.

## TRENDS IN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF NONWHITES IN AMERICAN CITIES, 1940-1950

DONALD O. COWGILL

*University of Wichita*

**D**URING the past decade many changes of law and administrative policy have favored desegregation of ethnic minorities. A challenging question for the social scientist is the determination of the degree to which policy changes are followed by changes in actual practice. To meet this challenge three actions are necessary: (1) the development of adequate operational definitions of the term segregation, including specification of the kind of segregation being considered, (2) the invention of valid and sensitive measures of segregation, and (3) the application of such measurements through time to reflect changes of practice coincident with or consequent upon such changes in policy.

With regard to segregation by residence the first two steps have been taken. During the past decade, a number of different segregation indexes have been developed and applied to American cities.<sup>1</sup> It should now

be possible to take the third step and by application of one or more of these indexes at different points in time, determine intervening changes of segregation patterns.

bility Model for the Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 357-364; Donald O. Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (December, 1951), pp. 825-831; Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (June, 1947), pp. 293-303; Julius A. Jahn, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation: Derivation of an Index Based on the Criterion of Reproducibility," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 100-104; Eshref Shevsky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949, pp. 47-57; and Eshref Shevsky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955, pp. 24-25, and 43-53. For critical evaluations see Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (April, 1955), pp. 210-217; Richard Hornseth, "A Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation' by Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid,

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations of the various indexes which have been proposed see Wendell Bell, "A Proba-

As the developer of one of the aforementioned indexes, the writer proposes in this paper to compare the degree of segregation as measured by that index in 1950 with previously reported patterns for 1940. This index has two advantages over any of the others yet developed: (1) It is designed to be used on the basis of blocks as the areal units and thus measures segregation more delicately than the others, all of which use census tracts as the areal units. (2) Block statistics are available for many more cities than are included in the group for which census tract data are available. From the 1950 census, block data were published for 209 cities, whereas the census tract series included only 62 cities.

For the benefit of the reader who is unfamiliar with this index, it may be stated briefly that the index is a ratio between the number of blocks with no nonwhites and the total number of blocks which would contain no nonwhite households if the nonwhites were completely segregated and living in the minimum possible number of blocks.<sup>2</sup> The possible range of the index is from .000 to 1.000, with .000 indicating a complete lack of segregation and 1.000 representing complete segregation.

Table 1 shows the indexes for 50 selected cities for 1950 and for 1940 as well as the degree of increase or decrease which took place during the decade.

and Clarence Schrag," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (October, 1947), pp. 603-604; Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "Rejoinder to Dr. Hornseth's Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation'," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (April, 1948), pp. 216-217; and Josephine J. Williams, "Another Commentary on So-Called Segregation Indices," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (June, 1948), pp. 298-304.

<sup>2</sup> The formula for this index is:

$$I = \frac{C-X}{C-B}$$

When C=total number of blocks in the city or total number of nonwhite dwelling units, whichever is smaller

B=number of nonwhite dwelling units divided by average number of dwelling units per block in blocks containing nonwhites

X=number of blocks containing any nonwhite dwelling units.

#### THE GENERAL PATTERN IN 1950

The general pattern of segregation in 1950 remained very similar to what it was in 1940. Of the 185 cities included in both series, Miami remained the highest. However, another Florida city, St. Petersburg, added to the series in 1950, surpassed the Miami score by a slight margin, .972 as compared with .969, and Orlando was only slightly lower with .962.

Again, as in 1940, many of the cities of the Great Lakes area and cities along the Mason-Dixon line ranked relatively high.

At the low end of the scale were some suburban municipalities,<sup>3</sup> such as Oak Park, Ill., which had an index of .000. Other cities at the low end of the scale included many New England cities and several on the West Coast.

With the low index in Oak Park, the range of indices for the 209 cities in 1950 was from .000 to .972 for St. Petersburg, or only slightly less than the complete range of possibility.

The degree of similarity between the segregation scores in 1940 and 1950 is indicated by Figure 1.

It is readily evident that the cases cluster close to the diagonal line, denoting a high positive correlation between the two years. The product moment correlation coefficient was actually +.887.

Obviously had all scores remained exactly the same, all data would have fallen on the diagonal line. The scatter away from this line then is indicative of the degree of change and the direction of the change.

#### TRENDS, 1940-1950

In this paper, we are primarily concerned with the changes in the degree of residential segregation between 1940 and 1950. For this purpose we must restrict the analysis to the 185 cities appearing in both series.

The average segregation score for these cities increased by +.033 from .734 to .767. However, since such an average gives equal

<sup>3</sup> In a later article, the author proposes to develop a combined index for metropolitan areas. This will take account of the valid criticism of the present series to the effect that a suburb is merely a part of the total community, hence, a segregation index computed for the suburb alone, while valid for what it is, does not mean much.

## TRENDS IN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF NONWHITES

45

TABLE 1. SEGREGATION SCORES OF FIFTY SELECTED AMERICAN CITIES, 1940 AND 1950 \*

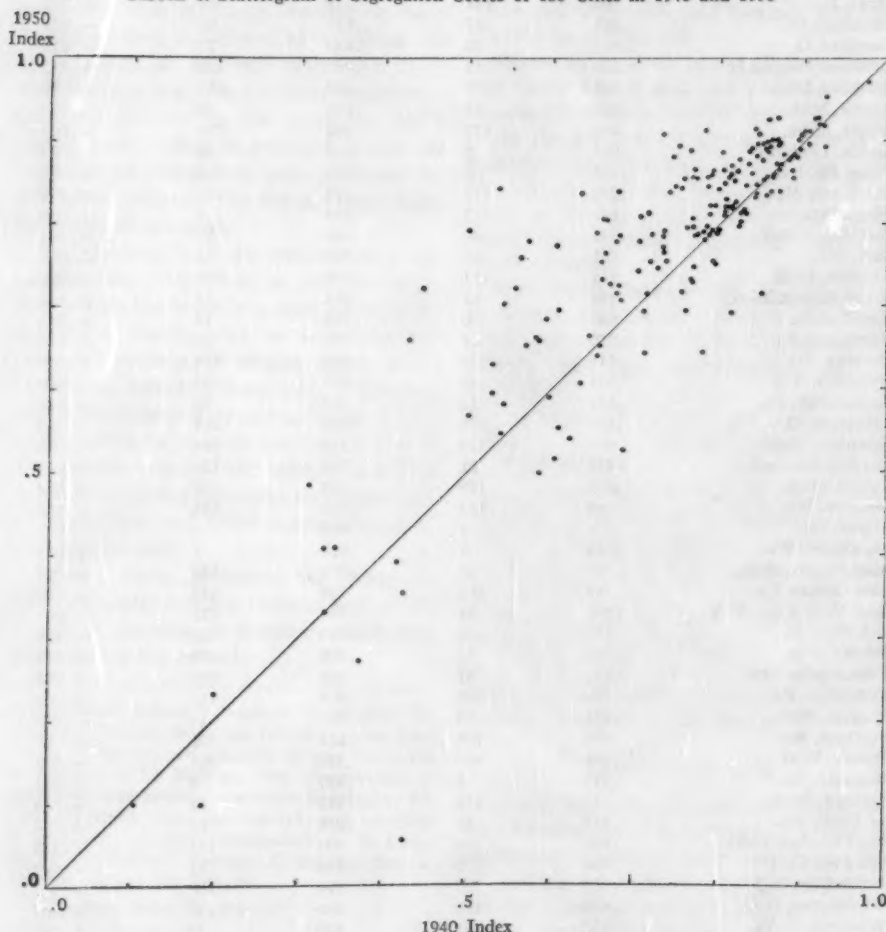
City	Segregation Score 1940	Rank 1940 (187 Cities)	Segregation Score 1950	Rank 1950 (209 Cities)	Change in Score 1940 to 1950
Baltimore, Md.	.847	45	.910	18	+.063
Boston, Mass.	.853	36	.836	93	-.017
Buffalo, N. Y.	.851	39	.851	76	.000
Chicago, Ill.	.893	13	.880	42	-.013
Cicero, Ill.	.200	184	.231	204	+.031
Cincinnati, O.	.861	27	.837	90	-.024
Cleveland, O.	.874	20	.855	72	-.019
Cleveland Heights, O.	.309	182	.481	196	+.172
Dearborn, Mich.	.586	158	.500	195	-.086
Detroit, Mich.	.861	28	.838	89	-.023
Duluth, Minn.	.419	177	.392	200	-.027
East St. Louis, Ill.	.918	5	.922	10	+.004
Evansville, Ind.	.856	32	.929	6	+.073
Fall River, Mass.	.379	177	.274	203	-.105
Flint, Mich.	.924	3	.954	4	+.030
Fort Wayne, Ind.	.845	46	.918	12	+.073
Gary, Ind.	.867	26	.933	5	+.066
Glendale, Calif.	.331	181	.409	198	+.078
Grand Rapids, Mich.	.782	91	.914	15	+.132
Hamilton, O.	.900	10	.914	16	+.014
Harrisburg, Pa.	.870	24	.898	23	+.028
Houston, Tex.	.716	126	.815	110	+.099
Irrington, N. J.	.333	180	.333	202	.000
Jacksonville, Fla.	.894	12	.905	20	+.011
Lakewood, O.	.425	176	.056	207	-.369
Lawrence, Mass.	.603	153	.514	194	-.089
Los Angeles, Calif.	.821	61	.798	121	-.023
Lowell, Mass.	.345	179	.409	199	+.064
Madison, Wis.	.689	132	.527	193	-.162
Miami, Fla.	.974	1	.969	2	-.005
Milwaukee, Wis.	.913	7	.927	7	+.014
Minneapolis, Minn.	.781	92	.789	130	+.008
New Orleans, La.	.738	116	.746	153	+.008
New York City, N. Y.	.798	81	.794	122	-.004
Oak Park, Ill.	.179	186	.000	209	-.179
Omaha, Neb.	.888	14	.909	19	+.021
Philadelphia, Pa.	.813	67	.821	103	+.008
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.789	88	.809	115	+.020
Pontiac, Mich.	.921	4	.919	11	-.002
Portland, Me.	.426	175	.355	201	-.071
Quincy, Mass.	.188	185	.100	205	-.088
Roanoke, Va.	.916	6	.927	8	+.011
Saginaw, Mich.	.733	120	.912	17	+.179
St. Louis, Mo.	.813	68	.857	68	+.044
San Francisco, Calif.	.816	64	.693	174	-.123
San Jose, Calif.	.544	165	.548	191	+.004
Union City, N. J.	.105	187	.100	206	-.005
Washington, D. C.	.624	150	.540	192	-.084
Wheeling, W. Va.	.853	37	.899	22	+.046
Wichita, Kans.	.906	8	.915	14	+.009
Composite Index (185 cities)	.830		.863		+.033

\* Printing costs prohibit reproduction of scores for all cities included in the study. The Cities included here are: the eighteen cities with populations of 500,000 or more in 1950, the sixteen highest ranking cities in 1950 for which scores were available in both years, and the sixteen lowest ranking cities in 1950 for which scores were available in both years. The complete table may be secured from the author upon request.

weight to cities of all sizes, it was deemed preferable to compute a combined index based upon the sums of all of the original figures. Significantly, the degree of change was exactly the same,  $+.033$ , for this combined index as it was for the average of indexes, increasing from  $.830$  to  $.863$ . The

cant or immediate change in the tendency to segregate nonwhites. In fact, segregation increased in the face of this decision and other influences toward desegregation. Of course, this increase in the degree of residential segregation does not necessarily imply that there was an increase in attitudes

FIGURE 1. Scattergram of Segregation Scores of 185 Cities in 1940 and 1950



precise agreement, both in direction and amount of change, between these two sets of figures leads to the certain conclusion that residential segregation in these American cities did in fact increase during the decade, 1940-1950. Apparently the Supreme Court decision declaring restrictive covenants unconstitutional did not produce any signifi-

favorable to such segregation. The index measures spatial arrangement, not attitude, and other factors may account for the changes noted.

As might be expected the scores of individual cities tended to increase. Of the 185 cities in both series, 129 had higher scores in 1950 than in 1940 and 4 remained un-



changed. Thus only 52 manifested decreases. This is reflected graphically in Figure 1 since the 129 dots representing cities which increased appear above the diagonal line, and obviously outweigh the 52 dots appearing below the line, reflecting the number in which segregation decreased.

The greatest increase was shown in Long Beach, +.308, and some other western cities such as Spokane, Tacoma, and Portland also evidenced marked rises. However, 10 of the 20 cities with increases of .100 or more were in the vicinity of the Great Lakes. Three of the 20 were small cities in New England, one, Lincoln, Nebr., was in the West North Central region and, interestingly, two were in Texas, viz., Dallas and Beaumont.

In general, the cities showing such marked rises in segregation scores appeared to be those which fell in the middle ranges of the index in 1940, i.e., those which had only a moderate degree of segregation in the earlier year. The range of the 1940 scores for these 20 cities was from .309 to .782.

No city in the deep south changed as much as .100 in either direction.

Only 7 cities had decreases of .100 or more. Lakewood, O. showed the greatest drop, -.369. Several other suburban municipalities with relatively small numbers of nonwhites also had marked decreases. Such changes probably signify no trend, but reflect simply the instability of an index based on small numbers. This is not an admission that the index is invalid. On the contrary, the index is a true and valid measure of the segregation at the time of the census, regardless of size of city and numbers of nonwhites involved. However, if there are few nonwhite households, the index must be expected to fluctuate more widely through time, since the movement of a few families will produce marked changes in the index.

However, two independent cities, Madison, Wis. and San Francisco, Calif., also showed marked decreases. In the case of San Francisco this is especially significant in view of the fact that the adjoining cities

of Berkeley and Oakland had similar drops in segregation scores. Apparently the San Francisco area moved in a counter-direction to the more prevalent tendency on the west coast toward a tighter segregation pattern. It would be interesting to analyze the particular factors behind these opposing tendencies. One might suspect that the movement of Negroes to western cities during the decade would tend toward more marked segregation, hence higher segregation scores. On the other hand, since this index pertains to all non-whites, including Mongoloids, it is possible that the dispersion of Japanese with internment during World War II had permanent effects which tended to reduce the segregation scores in cities with heavy concentrations of Oriental population. This may be the explanation of the sharp reduction of segregation in the San Francisco area. However, further study of the specific situation will be required to test the accuracy of this hypothesis.

Perhaps the only consolation to be drawn from this analysis by the proponents of desegregation is the fact that the nation's capital was among those cities experiencing a considerable reduction in the degree of segregation. In Washington, the score fell from .624 in 1940 to .540 in 1950, a drop of .084.

The cities which decreased more than .050 manifested a wide variation in the initial degree of segregation in 1940. The range was from .188 to .850. Apparently the degree of initial segregation did not determine which cities decreased.

#### SUMMARY

Residential segregation scores have been computed for 209 American cities in 1950. For 185 of these, comparable scores are available for 1940. Comparison of these scores for the two years indicates conclusively that residential segregation increased during the decade. The composite score for all 185 cities went up .033, and 129 cities increased, while only 52 decreased and 4 remained the same.

## FACTORS IN WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION: WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS, CHICAGO, 1951

BEVERLY DUNCAN  
*University of Chicago*

THE literature on urban structure and function indicates that the workplaces of labor force members are spatially separated from their residences, in part because of the differentiated pattern of urban land use. There is also some evidence of appreciable variation in the degree of work-residence separation among different component groups of the labor force.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of previous studies, it may be expected that two of the major determinants of the degree of work-residence separation are the socio-economic level of the worker and the centralization of the workplace. It is hypothesized (1) that the degree of work-residence separation varies directly with the socio-economic level of the worker, (2) that the degree of separation is directly related to the centralization of the workplace, and (3) that the degree of separation is greatest for workers of high socio-economic level with centralized workplaces.

Although the relationships between socio-economic level, centralization of workplace, and degree of work-residence separation may

obtain as hypothesized for the total labor force, they may be modified or reversed for particular subgroups. The effects of other demographic and economic factors, including color, sex, and duration of employment with the present establishment, on the relationships are examined.

*Data.* The data which the study analyzes were obtained as a by-product of the Occupational Mobility Survey, conducted in January and February of 1951 in Chicago.<sup>2</sup> A systematic sample of approximately 2,000 households was drawn from the city, and work history schedules were completed for each person twenty-five years or older in the sample households who worked full-time for pay or in his own business for a month or more during 1950.

The schedule number permitted identification of the census tract of residence. Information on color, sex, income, occupation, family status, and duration of employment was obtained directly from the schedules. All identifying information on current workplace was examined. The schedule provided no identifying information on workplace for self-employed persons; hence, they are excluded from this analysis. In most cases, the industry group and the name of the employing firm were available for wage and salary workers. The addresses of the employing establishments were located through telephone directories or published firm listings and assigned to census tracts by means of a street address coding guide.

For assignment of a workplace location, it was necessary that there be a single determinable workplace. Cases for which no workplace could be assigned are of two types:

\* Revision of a paper read at a meeting of the Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago, June, 1953. This research was supported in part by the U. S. Air Force under Contract Number AF 33(038)-25630, monitored by the Human Resources Research Institute. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication and disposal in whole and in part by or for the U. S. Government.

<sup>1</sup> J. Douglas Carroll, Jr., "Some Aspects of the Home-Work Relationships of Industrial Workers," *Land Economics*, 25 (November, 1949), pp. 413-22; Carroll, "The Relation of Homes to Work Places and the Spatial Pattern of Cities," *Social Forces*, 30 (March, 1952), pp. 271-82; Helene M. Conant, "The Locational Influence of Place of Work on Place of Residence," M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, March, 1952; Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Davis, Nos. 5, 13, 20 in the unpublished series of Urban Analysis Reports, Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1951-53; Kate K. Liepmann, *The Journey to Work*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1944, Part B, Chapter II; Leo F. Schnore, "The Separation of Home and Work: A Problem for Human Ecology," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 336-43.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the entire Occupational Mobility Survey, see Gladys L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954. The transfer of the information from the original schedules for Chicago workers to a card form suitable for an analysis of work-residence separation was planned and supervised by Evelyn M. Kitagawa.

(1) a single workplace is assumed to exist but cannot be located because of inadequacies in the data; (2) the type of industry or occupation is such that no single workplace can be assumed to exist. The workplace could be determined for 1,243 of the 1,813 wage and salary workers, private and government.

Thus, 69 per cent of all wage and salary workers were assigned a workplace address and are included in the analysis. There was considerable variation among industry groups in the percentage of wage and salary workers for whom a workplace address could be determined. Workplaces were located for 94 per cent of the 815 workers in manufacturing industries; between 66 and 72 per cent of those employed in wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, and real estate, and service industries, but only 19 per cent of the wage and salary workers in public administration and 16 per cent of those in transportation, communication, and other utilities could be assigned a workplace address.

Linear distance between the centers of the tract of residence and the tract of work, or in the case of individuals with workplaces outside the city limits, between tract of residence and the center of the suburban town, was used as the measure of separation. This measure involves a presumably random error, in that residence and workplace are located imprecisely, and a systematic error, in that linear distance tends to understate traveling distance. But these errors are judged not to invalidate the kinds of comparisons attempted.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The understatement of traveling distance is perhaps more serious for persons working outside the Central Business District than for those working in the Central Business District. Some relevant data are available in *Report of the Chicago Traction and Subway Commission*, Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1916, Chapter VII. The linear distance between the residence and the workplace for 350,007 Chicago workers averaged 3.31 miles while their average traveling distance was 4.23 miles. The difference between linear distance and traveling distance between the residence and the workplace was least for persons working in the C.B.D. because of the radial transportation network of the city. For C.B.D. workers, the mean traveling distance was only 0.2 miles greater than the mean linear distance between workplace and residence. However, for other workers, the mean traveling distance was 1.4 miles greater than the

*Analysis.* The present analysis consists primarily of comparisons of average work-residence separation for different components of the labor force. Because of the high percentage of exclusions and the crudeness of the measurements, it is assumed that the analysis describes roughly, rather than measures accurately, relationships of the degree of separation to certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics of labor force members.

1. It is hypothesized that the worker's socio-economic level is directly related to the degree of spatial separation of his workplace and residence. This hypothesis is tested using occupation and income as indexes of socio-economic level. The present analysis relates only to wage and salary workers. Because there is considerable variation by occupation group and income level in the percentage of all workers classified as wage and salary workers, it is especially important that the findings be interpreted as representing wage and salary workers within the occupation or income group rather than the entire group.

The data in Table 1 indicate that the degree of work-residence separation varies directly with the occupational level. Major occupation groups (defined as in the 1950 Census) are listed roughly in order of decreasing socio-economic level, and the average separation ranges from 6.9 for professionals to 4.0 for laborers. It is of some interest that in terms of work-residence separation, sales workers resemble managerial workers and are strikingly different from clerical workers.

The relationship between degree of separation and occupational level is sharpened when the data for white wage and salary workers are examined separately. The range increases from 2.9 miles to 3.7 miles, with average separations of 7.0 and 3.3 miles for professionals and laborers respectively. For nonwhite wage and salary workers, the range is only 2.0 miles, and no relationship between degree of separation and occupational level is evident.

Using income as an index of socio-economic level, the observed relationships between degree of separation and socio-economic

mean linear distance. But it is unlikely that this accounts for the observed difference in work-residence separation between centralized and decentralized workers.

TABLE 1. AVERAGE WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION, IN MILES, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND COLOR

Major Occupation Group	All Workers		White		Nonwhite	
	Number of Cases	Average Separation	Number of Cases	Average Separation	Number of Cases	Average Separation
All workers	1,243	4.7	1,042	4.7	201	4.8
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	87	6.9	80	7.0	7	5.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors	72	6.3	68	6.4	4	3.7
Sales workers	67	6.3	64	6.4	3	3.4
Clerical and kindred workers	208	5.0	191	5.1	17	4.0
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	195	4.6	181	4.6	14	5.0
Operatives and kindred workers	445	4.0	338	3.6	107	5.0
Service workers, including private household	115	4.1	87	3.8	28	4.9
Laborers	54	4.0	33	3.3	21	5.3

level are similar to those just described. Average separations of 5.9 and 3.1 miles are observed for the highest and lowest income groups respectively among both total and white wage and salary workers. For nonwhite workers, the greatest average separation is observed for the moderate income group, with both the highest and lowest income groups having average separations somewhat lower.

Thus, for white wage and salary workers in Chicago, the degree of work-residence separation appears to vary directly with socio-economic level. This direct relationship also obtains for total workers because of the preponderance of whites in the Chicago labor force.

One explanation of the findings is sug-

gested by the differentiated pattern of urban land use. Insofar as workplaces are located in industrial or commercial areas, adjacent residential areas tend to be characterized by low rents and undesirable housing conditions. The socio-economic level limits the choice of residential areas; consequently, the proximity of low rental units to the workplace may serve as a centripetal force for low socio-economic level workers. At the same time, housing conditions may deter higher socio-economic level workers from seeking housing near their workplaces.

Given the direct relationship of degree of separation to socio-economic level and the concentration of nonwhite wage and salary workers in the low socio-economic levels, it would be expected that the average separa-

TABLE 2. AVERAGE WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION, IN MILES, BY CURRENT WEEKLY EARNINGS AND COLOR

Current Weekly Earnings	All Workers		White		Nonwhite	
	Number of Cases	Average Separation	Number of Cases	Average Separation	Number of Cases	Average Separation
All workers	1,199	4.7	998	4.6	201	4.8
\$100 or more	120	5.9	116	5.9	4	3.6
\$85-99	98	6.0	94	6.0	4	5.6
\$75-84	120	4.9	111	4.9	9	5.4
\$65-74	147	4.8	129	4.6	18	6.1
\$55-64	225	4.6	183	4.2	42	5.9
\$45-54	237	4.4	193	4.2	44	4.8
\$35-44	185	4.1	126	3.9	59	4.3
\$34 or less	67	3.1	46	3.1	21	3.1



tion of workplace and residence would be lower for nonwhite workers than for white workers. On the contrary, the average work-residence separation for nonwhite workers is slightly greater than that for white workers. This deviation from expectation can be explained in part by the pattern of nonwhite residential segregation which removes the flexibility in residential location, independently of socio-economic level.

2. The second hypothesis is that the degree of work-residence separation varies directly with the degree of workplace centralization. Irrespective of desire to minimize work-residence separation or of residential location requirements or limitations,

the C.B.D. (Central Business District) and shows no consistent variation with increasing zonal distance from the central area. Furthermore, this relationship of degree of separation and workplace centralization is primarily a function of the relationship obtaining for white workers.

The average separation for nonwhites working in the C.B.D. is 4.8 miles, the same as the average separation for all nonwhite wage and salary workers. A tentative explanation of this finding is the heavy concentration of Negro residences in the central areas of the city. If it is assumed that the Negro residential area is essentially fixed because of the existing segregation pattern, it follows

TABLE 3. AVERAGE WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION, IN MILES, BY ZONAL DISTANCE OF WORKPLACE FROM CENTER OF CITY AND COLOR

Zonal Distance	All Workers		White		Nonwhite	
	Number of Cases	Average Separation	Number of Cases	Average Separation	Number of Cases	Average Separation
All workers	1,243	4.7	1,042	4.7	201	4.8
Within 1 mile	281	6.5	248	6.8	33	4.8
1-1.9 miles	135	3.4	109	3.4	26	3.4
2-2.9 miles	96	3.7	77	3.9	19	2.6
3-3.9 miles	124	3.5	99	3.5	25	3.3
4-4.9 miles	107	3.5	78	3.5	29	3.6
5-5.9 miles	108	3.6	95	3.6	13	3.8
6-6.9 miles	165	5.4	145	5.2	20	6.7
7-7.9 miles	67	4.5	57	3.9	10	7.7
8-8.9 miles	30	3.5	27	3.6	3	2.6
9-9.9 miles	19	3.6	17	3.4	2	4.8
10-13.9 miles	74	4.8	64	4.2	10	8.3
14 miles or more	37	9.0	26	8.0	11	11.3

persons working in the central, predominantly non-residential areas can not reside in the work area because of an insufficient number of available housing units; workers in less centralized areas are not compelled to reside outside the work area on the basis of available housing alone.

The direct relationship between degree of separation and workplace centralization is not so clear and consistent as that between degree of separation and socio-economic level. Persons working in the Central Business District, i.e., within approximately one mile of the intersection of State and Madison streets, have a high degree of separation, 6.5 miles on the average; however, average separation decreases to 3.4 miles for persons working in the area immediately adjacent to

that separation will be least for those working in areas adjacent to this residential area—in this case, those working in centralized areas.

The initial hypothesis should be somewhat modified. Work-residence separation is substantially greater for persons employed in the Central Business District than for persons employed outside this area; but no consistent variation between degree of separation and distance from the Central Business District is evident. This pattern obtains for total and white wage and salary workers. For nonwhite workers, there is no clear relationship of degree of separation and workplace centralization. Insofar as the areas of heavy Negro residential concentration are somewhat centralized in the larger cities of

the United States, similar findings might be expected, modified by the degree of centralization of the Negro residential area.

3. The preceding analyses indicate no clear relationship of work-residence separation to workplace centralization and to socio-economic level for nonwhite workers. However, there is a positive association of work-residence separation with workplace centralization and with socio-economic level for white workers. Hence, the test of the third hypothesis is restricted to white wage and salary workers. Further, it is restricted to workers in manufacturing industries for whom complete information on all ecological, demographic, and economic characteristics is available. As indicated previously, information on all characteristics is available for a considerably higher percentage of workers in manufacturing than in any other industry group, and the number of workers in manufacturing is considerably larger than the number in any other industry group. By restricting the analysis to manufacturing workers, the differences in completeness of information by industry group are eliminated, and the number of cases remains sufficient for detailed cross-classification.

Complete information is available for 639 white wage and salary workers in manufacturing industries, or 91 per cent of all such workers in the sample. The cases are dichotomized as follows: (1) By occupational level, the professional, managerial, clerical, and sales personnel are classified as white-collar, and craftsmen, operatives, service workers, and laborers as manual. The white-collar group corresponds roughly with the high socio-economic level and the manual group with the lower socio-economic level. (2) By workplace centralization, individuals are classified as working in the Central Business District, or as working outside this area. The work-residence separation for white workers in manufacturing, cross-classified by these two characteristics, is shown in Table 4.

The differences in degree of work-residence separation shown by the marginals of the table between the white-collar and manual groups and between individuals working in the C.B.D. (Central Business District) and those working outside the area are both significant at the .001 level. The directions of

these differences are as hypothesized, i.e., workers of high socio-economic level have greater separation than do those of low socio-economic level, and individuals with centralized workplaces have greater separation than do those with decentralized workplaces.

The greatest degree of work-residence separation is observed for the white-collar group with workplaces in the C.B.D., 7.3 miles on the average. For individuals working in the C.B.D., the difference between the white-collar and manual groups is not significant; the difference between white-collar workers with workplaces in the C.B.D. and white-collar workers with workplaces out-

TABLE 4. AVERAGE WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION, IN MILES, FOR WHITE WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING, BY WORKPLACE LOCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL

Workplace Location	Occupational Level		
	White-collar	Manual	All Workers
Average separation			
All workers	5.7	3.9	4.4
C.B.D.	7.3	5.7	6.6
Outside C.B.D.	5.1	3.8	4.0
Number of cases			
All workers	165	474	639
C.B.D.	48	36	84
Outside C.B.D.	117	438	555

side the C.B.D. falls in the .1 to .05 range of significance, while the difference between white-collar workers with workplaces in the C.B.D. and manual workers with workplaces outside the C.B.D. is significant at the .001 level. This supports the hypothesis that workers of high socio-economic level with centralized workplaces have the greatest work-residence separation.

Controlling workplace centralization somewhat lessens the difference between the high and the low socio-economic groups. Similarly controlling socio-economic level lessens the difference between workers with centralized and with decentralized workplaces. Nevertheless, high socio-economic level and workplace centralization operate independently as well as jointly to increase work-residence separation.

Only a limited comparison for nonwhite workers in manufacturing is possible because of their occupational distribution and the

small number of sample cases. However, within the manual group, the average separation for individuals working in the C.B.D. is similar to that for individuals working outside the area.

The effects of the additional characteristics of sex, income, and duration of employment on work-residence separation are examined for the sample of white wage and salary workers in manufacturing. The difference by sex in average separation is of negligible size for individuals working in the C.B.D., 7.3 miles for both males and females in the white-collar group, 5.8 miles for males and 5.4 miles for females in the manual group. However, for white-collar workers outside the C.B.D. the average separation for males, 6.2 miles, is significantly greater at the .01 level than that for females, 3.0 miles. For manual workers outside the C.B.D., the average separation for males, 4.0 miles, is slightly greater than that for females, 3.2 miles.

For both males and females, white-collar workers employed in the C.B.D. have the greatest work-residence separation. But the difference between white-collar workers employed in the C.B.D. and those employed outside the area is considerably less for males than for females, and the difference between the white-collar group and the manual group is eliminated for females working outside the C.B.D.

Having controlled workplace centralization, occupational level, and sex, there is apparently little to be gained by adding the variable of income. The high income subgroup within each centralization-occupation-sex group shows a slight tendency toward greater separation. However, the correlation of income with occupation is such that controlling occupation eliminates most of the variation by income.

It is suggested in the literature that recently hired employees are likely to reside at greater distances from their workplaces than are those who have worked with the same establishment for a longer period.<sup>4</sup> The present data fail to support this hypothesis. The average work-residence separation for all white male wage and salary workers in manufacturing is 4.7 miles; for the 15 workers who began their employment with

the current establishment in 1951, the average separation is 3.4 miles; for the 75 who began in 1950, the average is 4.0 miles; for 31 who began in 1949, 4.7 miles; and for the 135 workers who began their employment prior to 1941, the average separation is 4.6 miles.

Apparently any tendency for length of employment to reduce work-residence separation is counteracted by factors operating in the opposite direction. For example, the preceding analysis has shown that workers of low socio-economic level have lower work-residence separation than do those of high socio-economic level. Only 26 per cent of the white males who began their employment in 1951, 1950, or 1949 had a weekly income of \$75 or more, whereas 43 per cent of all white males in manufacturing had a weekly income of at least \$75. In summary, having controlled workplace centralization, socio-economic level, and sex, there is relatively little net variation associated with the additional variable of duration of employment.

*Variations by Manufacturing Group.* Considerable variation obtains among manufacturing industry groups in degree of work-residence separation; for example, the average separation for all workers in non-ferrous metals industries is 3.4 miles, for workers in the food industry 4.7 miles, and for workers employed in printing and publishing 5.6 miles.

The more detailed analysis of inter-industry variations is restricted to the 351 white male wage and salary workers, heads of primary families, employed in manufacturing industries. This restriction eliminates possible variation resulting from differences in race, sex, and family status composition.

The lowest observed separation (3.4 miles) is for workers in fabricated metals industries. This average separation is significantly different from that observed for workers in nonelectrical machinery manufacturing (5.2 miles) at the .05 level, from that for workers in printing and publishing (5.8 miles) at the .07 level, and from that for employees in electrical machinery manufacturing (5.7 miles) at the .10 level. The number of cases in the sample is rather inadequate for a detailed analysis by manufacturing group; however, the fact that some of the differences

<sup>4</sup> Conant, *op. cit.*

are of moderate significance indicates that considerable variation exists.

When workers in each manufacturing group are classified by workplace centralization, the difference in separation is in the hypothesized direction in nine of the twelve groups; when workers in each group are classified by socio-economic level, the difference in separation is in the hypothesized direction in ten of the twelve groups. Despite the small number of sample cases, the difference in separation between the white-collar and manual groups engaged in durable goods manufacturing is significant at the .001 level,

Whereas 39 per cent of all white wage and salary workers are classified as white-collar, 68 per cent of the group with C.B.D. workplaces are so classified. However, the occupation-specific separations are consistently higher for white C.B.D. workers than for all white workers. Among C.B.D. workers, the average separation for professional, managerial, and sales workers is nearly eight miles; for clerical workers and craftsmen, it is nearly seven miles; for operatives and laborers, the average is slightly under six miles and for service workers under five. These can be compared with the occupation-

TABLE 5. AVERAGE WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION, IN MILES, FOR WHITE MALE WORKERS, HEADS OF PRIMARY FAMILIES, IN EACH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY GROUP, BY WORKPLACE CENTRALIZATION, BY OCCUPATION LEVEL, AND BY INCOME LEVEL

Manufacturing Industry Group	All Workers		Centralization		Occupation		Income	
	Number	Mean			White-collar	Manual	\$75 or more	Under \$75
			0-4 mi.	5 mi.+				
All durable goods	236	4.6	4.7	4.5	6.6	4.0	5.4	3.8
Lumber, wood, furniture, fixtures	15	4.7	5.1*	4.3*	8.2*	4.2	6.8*	3.7
Primary metals	36	4.0	5.6*	3.6	6.8*	3.6	4.8	2.9
Fabricated metals	46	3.4	3.3	3.6	4.2*	2.3	3.8	3.4
Nonelectrical machinery	66	5.2	5.2	5.3	6.7	4.8	6.4	4.1
Electrical machinery	30	5.7	4.4*	6.3	9.7*	4.2	6.5	4.2
Transportation equipment	13	4.0	5.3*	3.8	5.1*	3.7	3.4*	4.5*
Other durable goods	30	4.3	4.9	3.5	5.4*	3.9	5.0	4.0*
All nondurable goods	115	5.3	6.1	4.0	6.9	4.5	6.6	4.4
Food, kindred products	43	5.1	6.2	4.3	7.9	3.6	7.0	4.2
Textiles, apparel	14	4.2	4.5	3.1*	—	4.2	5.2*	3.9
Printing, publishing	35	5.8	6.9	2.1*	5.8	5.8	6.1	4.4*
Chemicals, allied products	10	5.7	5.8*	5.7*	7.5*	4.5*	6.1*	3.9*
Other nondurable goods	13	5.5	6.0	4.5*	6.8*	4.0*	3.3*	6.4*

\* Less than 10 cases.

and the difference between the two groups in nondurable goods manufacturing is significant at the .05 level. Thus, within each manufacturing group, workers of high socio-economic level tend to have greater separation than those of low socio-economic level, and individuals with centralized workplaces tend to have greater separation than those with decentralized workplaces.

*Central Business District Workers.* Work-residence separation for C.B.D. workers is considerably higher than for other workers. There is, of course, the possibility that the high degree of separation for C.B.D. workers is a function of the occupational composition of C.B.D. workplaces, for they are weighted toward the high occupation levels.

specific separations for all white workers given in Table 1.

The average work-residence separation for the group of white C.B.D. workers is 6.8 miles, whereas the average for all white workers is 4.7 miles. If the occupation-specific separations of the group working in the C.B.D. are applied to the occupational distribution of all white workers, a mean of 6.4 miles is obtained; if the occupation-specific separations for all white workers are applied to the occupational distribution of the group working in the C.B.D., an average separation of 5.3 miles is obtained. Although extremely crude and based upon very small numbers of cases, the analysis clearly indicates that both the occupational composition and the



occupation-specific separations of the group working in the C.B.D. are in the direction of increasing work-residence separation.

*Comparative Data for 1916.* Data were obtained by the Chicago Traction and Subway Commission on the workplace and residence location of 110,827 Chicago residents employed in the C.B.D. (Central Business District) and 232,530 residents employed in other parts of the city in 1916.<sup>5</sup> The average separation of the workplace from the residence for persons employed in the C.B.D. was 4.7 miles in 1916; the mean separation for C.B.D. workers was 6.5 miles in 1951.

and for those working outside the central area.

With the data summarized in Table 6, the distributions of the total resident population and the residences of C.B.D. workers by zonal distance from the center of the city can be compared; a second comparison can be made between the distribution of C.B.D. workers and that of other workers by the zonal distance of their residence from their workplace.

The distribution of residences of individuals working in the C.B.D. is similar to the distribution of resident population in

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTIONS OF TOTAL RESIDENT POPULATION AND OF THE RESIDENCES OF CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT WORKERS BY ZONAL DISTANCE FROM THE CENTER OF THE CITY, AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESIDENCES OF OTHER WORKERS BY ZONAL DISTANCE FROM THE WORKPLACE

Zonal Distance	Resident Population		Central Business District Workers		Other Workers	
	1951	1916	1951	1916	1951	1916
All zones	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Within 1 mile	0.7	2.8	1.1	3.8	18.6	35.0
1-1.9 miles	4.4	10.8	3.2	11.4	13.1	22.6
2-2.9 miles	8.1	13.4	4.6	11.8	12.3	13.4
3-3.9 miles	10.5	14.2	8.6	16.2	11.1	11.3
4-4.9 miles	12.7	16.6	11.6	16.4	10.1	6.8
5-6.9 miles	26.2	26.0	28.0	24.3	16.2	7.0
7 miles or more	37.4	16.2	42.9	16.1	18.6	3.9

For individuals with workplaces located outside the C.B.D., the average work-residence separation was 2.3 miles in 1916; in 1951 the average for persons with workplaces outside the C.B.D. was 4.2 miles. In the 35-year period, the mean separation has increased by nearly two miles both for persons working in the central area of the city

both 1916 and 1951. In 1916, the index of dissimilarity between the zonal distributions of residences of C.B.D. workers and total resident population was 3.6, i.e., 3.6 per cent of the residences of C.B.D. workers would have to be relocated in other zones to make their zonal distribution identical with that of the total resident population. By 1951, the index had increased to 7.7.

In both 1916 and 1951, the distribution of C.B.D. workers by distance from workplace differs markedly from the distribution for other workers. In 1916, nearly three-fifths of the persons working outside the C.B.D. resided within two miles of the workplace, whereas only 15 per cent of the C.B.D. workers lived within two miles of the place of work. In 1951, nearly one-third of the persons with decentralized workplaces resided within two miles of the workplace, but only 4 per cent of the C.B.D. workers resided that close to their workplace.

Despite the increase in mean separation

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* The residence was determined for 350,007 employees, representing the employment of 591 industrial and commercial establishments in the city of Chicago. For the comparison, persons working in Chicago but residing outside the city were excluded because the 1951 sample was restricted to residents of the city. Further, the area identified by the Commission as the "Loop" coincides more nearly with the area designated the Central Business District in the present analysis than does the more inclusive area identified by the Commission as the Central Business District; hence, the "Loop" for 1916 has been equated with the Central Business District for 1951 in the comparative material. For another analysis of these data, see Carroll, "The Relation of Homes to Work Places and the Spatial Pattern of Cities," *op. cit.*

are of moderate significance indicates that considerable variation exists.

When workers in each manufacturing group are classified by workplace centralization, the difference in separation is in the hypothesized direction in nine of the twelve groups; when workers in each group are classified by socio-economic level, the difference in separation is in the hypothesized direction in ten of the twelve groups. Despite the small number of sample cases, the difference in separation between the white-collar and manual groups engaged in durable goods manufacturing is significant at the .001 level,

Whereas 39 per cent of all white wage and salary workers are classified as white-collar, 68 per cent of the group with C.B.D. workplaces are so classified. However, the occupation-specific separations are consistently higher for white C.B.D. workers than for all white workers. Among C.B.D. workers, the average separation for professional, managerial, and sales workers is nearly eight miles; for clerical workers and craftsmen, it is nearly seven miles; for operatives and laborers, the average is slightly under six miles and for service workers under five. These can be compared with the occupation-

TABLE 5. AVERAGE WORK-RESIDENCE SEPARATION, IN MILES, FOR WHITE MALE WORKERS, HEADS OF PRIMARY FAMILIES, IN EACH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY GROUP, BY WORKPLACE CENTRALIZATION, BY OCCUPATION LEVEL, AND BY INCOME LEVEL

Manufacturing Industry Group	All Workers		Centralization		Occupation		Income	
	Number	Mean			White-collar	Manual	\$75 or more	Under \$75
			0-4 mi.	5 mi.+				
All durable goods	236	4.6	4.7	4.5	6.6	4.0	5.4	3.8
Lumber, wood, furniture, fixtures	15	4.7	5.1*	4.3*	8.2*	4.2	6.8*	3.7
Primary metals	36	4.0	5.6*	3.6	6.8*	3.6	4.8	2.9
Fabricated metals	46	3.4	3.3	3.6	4.2*	3.3	3.8	3.4
Nonelectrical machinery	66	5.2	5.2	5.3	6.7	4.8	6.4	4.1
Electrical machinery	30	5.7	4.4*	6.3	9.7*	4.2	6.5	4.2
Transportation equipment	13	4.0	5.3*	3.8	5.1*	3.7	3.4*	4.5*
Other durable goods	30	4.3	4.9	3.5	5.4*	3.9	5.0	4.0*
All nondurable goods	115	5.3	6.1	4.0	6.9	4.5	6.6	4.4
Food, kindred products	43	5.1	6.2	4.3	7.9	3.6	7.0	4.2
Textiles, apparel	14	4.2	4.5	3.1*	—	4.2	5.2*	3.9
Printing, publishing	35	5.8	6.9	2.1*	5.8	5.8	6.1	4.4*
Chemicals, allied products	10	5.7	5.8*	5.7*	7.5*	4.5*	6.1*	3.9*
Other nondurable goods	13	5.5	6.0	4.5*	6.8*	4.0*	3.3*	6.4*

\* Less than 10 cases.

and the difference between the two groups in nondurable goods manufacturing is significant at the .05 level. Thus, within each manufacturing group, workers of high socio-economic level tend to have greater separation than those of low socio-economic level, and individuals with centralized workplaces tend to have greater separation than those with decentralized workplaces.

*Central Business District Workers.* Work-residence separation for C.B.D. workers is considerably higher than for other workers. There is, of course, the possibility that the high degree of separation for C.B.D. workers is a function of the occupational composition of C.B.D. workplaces, for they are weighted toward the high occupation levels.

specific separations for all white workers given in Table 1.

The average work-residence separation for the group of white C.B.D. workers is 6.8 miles, whereas the average for all white workers is 4.7 miles. If the occupation-specific separations of the group working in the C.B.D. are applied to the occupational distribution of all white workers, a mean of 6.4 miles is obtained; if the occupation-specific separations for all white workers are applied to the occupational distribution of the group working in the C.B.D., an average separation of 5.3 miles is obtained. Although extremely crude and based upon very small numbers of cases, the analysis clearly indicates that both the occupational composition and the

occupation-specific separations of the group working in the C.B.D. are in the direction of increasing work-residence separation.

*Comparative Data for 1916.* Data were obtained by the Chicago Traction and Subway Commission on the workplace and residence location of 110,827 Chicago residents employed in the C.B.D. (Central Business District) and 232,530 residents employed in other parts of the city in 1916.<sup>5</sup> The average separation of the workplace from the residence for persons employed in the C.B.D. was 4.7 miles in 1916; the mean separation for C.B.D. workers was 6.5 miles in 1951.

and for those working outside the central area.

With the data summarized in Table 6, the distributions of the total resident population and the residences of C.B.D. workers by zonal distance from the center of the city can be compared; a second comparison can be made between the distribution of C.B.D. workers and that of other workers by the zonal distance of their residence from their workplace.

The distribution of residences of individuals working in the C.B.D. is similar to the distribution of resident population in

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTIONS OF TOTAL RESIDENT POPULATION AND OF THE RESIDENCES OF CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT WORKERS BY ZONAL DISTANCE FROM THE CENTER OF THE CITY, AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESIDENCES OF OTHER WORKERS BY ZONAL DISTANCE FROM THE WORKPLACE

Zonal Distance	Resident Population		Central Business District Workers		Other Workers	
	1951	1916	1951	1916	1951	1916
All zones	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Within 1 mile	0.7	2.8	1.1	3.8	18.6	35.0
1-1.9 miles	4.4	10.8	3.2	11.4	13.1	22.6
2-2.9 miles	8.1	13.4	4.6	11.8	12.3	13.4
3-3.9 miles	10.5	14.2	8.6	16.2	11.1	11.3
4-4.9 miles	12.7	16.6	11.6	16.4	10.1	6.8
5-6.9 miles	26.2	26.0	28.0	24.3	16.2	7.0
7 miles or more	37.4	16.2	42.9	16.1	18.6	3.9

For individuals with workplaces located outside the C.B.D., the average work-residence separation was 2.3 miles in 1916; in 1951 the average for persons with workplaces outside the C.B.D. was 4.2 miles. In the 35-year period, the mean separation has increased by nearly two miles both for persons working in the central area of the city

both 1916 and 1951. In 1916, the index of dissimilarity between the zonal distributions of residences of C.B.D. workers and total resident population was 3.6, i.e., 3.6 per cent of the residences of C.B.D. workers would have to be relocated in other zones to make their zonal distribution identical with that of the total resident population. By 1951, the index had increased to 7.7.

In both 1916 and 1951, the distribution of C.B.D. workers by distance from workplace differs markedly from the distribution for other workers. In 1916, nearly three-fifths of the persons working outside the C.B.D. resided within two miles of the workplace, whereas only 15 per cent of the C.B.D. workers lived within two miles of the place of work. In 1951, nearly one-third of the persons with decentralized workplaces resided within two miles of the workplace, but only 4 per cent of the C.B.D. workers resided that close to their workplace.

Despite the increase in mean separation

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* The residence was determined for 350,007 employees, representing the employment of 591 industrial and commercial establishments in the city of Chicago. For the comparison, persons working in Chicago but residing outside the city were excluded because the 1951 sample was restricted to residents of the city. Further, the area identified by the Commission as the "Loop" coincides more nearly with the area designated the Central Business District in the present analysis than does the more inclusive area identified by the Commission as the Central Business District; hence, the "Loop" for 1916 has been equated with the Central Business District for 1951 in the comparative material. For another analysis of these data, see Carroll, "The Relation of Homes to Work Places and the Spatial Pattern of Cities," *op. cit.*

and the marked redistribution of resident population, the residential distribution of C.B.D. workers has remained very similar to that of the total population in terms of zonal distance from the center of the city. At the same time, the residential distribution of C.B.D. workers has remained strikingly different from that of other workers in terms of distance from the workplace.

*Summary.* The differentiated pattern of urban land use clearly implies a separation of workplaces and residences for labor force members. Lack of adequate data on workplace and residence for labor force members in the United States has prevented systematic description and measurement of work-residence separation, although its importance in the organization of urban areas is recognized. Data obtained as a by-product of the Occupational Mobility Survey are used to test a number of propositions appearing in the literature for the universe of wage and salary workers residing in the City of Chicago in 1951.

The analysis supports the proposition that substantial variation in degree of separation obtains among groups comprising the labor force. Degree of separation varies directly with socio-economic level. Separation is substantially greater for individuals working in the Central Business District than for those working outside the area. Socio-economic level and degree of workplace centralization operate jointly as well as independently to produce work-residence separation.

The findings are consistent with more general propositions about the structure of urban areas. Good housing and preferred residential sites are seldom found in proximity to industrial and commercial areas. It would probably be possible to reproduce approximately the observed patterns of differentials in work-residence separation with a model which assumes that labor force members will reside in that area nearest their workplace which is compatible with their socio-economic level; however, such a model has not yet been adequately tested.

No clear relationship of degree of separation to socio-economic level or workplace centralization is evident for nonwhites. But the finding is not necessarily inconsistent with the hypothesis that socio-economic level and workplace centralization are major determinants of work-residence separation. The existing pattern of residential segregation of nonwhites, which permits little flexibility in residential location, may render them inoperative.

Comparative data on work-residence separation in Chicago for 1916 suggest a persistence of work-residence differentials through time. Although mean separation increased during the period, the work-residence separation of Central Business District workers remained substantially greater than that of other workers. It seems likely that successive analyses can ascertain general relationships between work-residence separation and ecological, socio-economic, and demographic variables.

## SOCIAL DIFFERENTIALS IN MODE OF TRAVEL, TIME AND COST IN THE JOURNEY TO WORK \*

LEO G. REEDER

*University of Minnesota*

It is almost needless to point out that traveling to work is a regular feature of a modern urbanized, industrialized society and that workers are accustomed to spending a considerable part of their time

traveling to and from work. In recent years there has been an upsurge of research interest in this general problem.<sup>1</sup>

\* This study was made possible by a research grant of the Department of Sociology, State College of Washington. The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Donald Foley, Department of City Planning, University of California, Berkeley, for his many helpful criticisms and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> See for example: Donald L. Foley, "Urban Daytime Population," *Social Forces*, 32 (December, 1954), pp. 323-330; J. Douglas Carroll, Jr., "Some Aspects of the Home-Work Relationships of Industrial Workers," *Land Economics*, (November, 1949), pp. 414-423; Carroll, "The Relation of Homes to Work Places and the Spatial Pattern of Cities," *Social Forces*, 30, (March, 1952), pp. 271-282;



Two recent studies subscribe to the hypothesis that "each worker seeks to minimize distance from home to work," and that the distribution of industrial workers is a consequence of the operation of the "principle of least effort" as applied to human behavior.<sup>2</sup> Ranyak modifies this thesis by suggesting that: "People tend to minimize their journey to work, maximize their employment benefits and maximize their residential amenities."<sup>3</sup> In a critical discussion of the "least effort" approach Schnore says that the least-effort hypothesis appears to confuse motivation with its external limiting conditions.<sup>4</sup>

It has been suggested by Leipmann and Hawley that the daily journey to work has implications of a wider nature in the changing social order.<sup>5</sup> These daily movements may supplement migration in those cases where the motive is to seek new employment opportunities. Hawley goes further in suggesting that the daily journey to work might supersede migration, at least within local areas.

Human ecologists, concerned as they are with regularities of spatial arrangements and the factors related to these regularities, have tended to focus their theoretical orientation toward the problem of commuting in terms of the restrictive nature of space.<sup>6</sup> While

this study is not an empirical test of the friction-of-space hypothesis, it may be considered as a step in that direction.

#### HYPOTHESIS

The major hypothesis proposed in this study is that the time-cost expenditures in the journey to work tend to vary according to socio-economic characteristics of the population. The specific sub-hypotheses tested by the data are as follows:

##### Transportation Variables

###### A. Mode of Travel

There are no significant differences in mode of travel in respect to:

- (1) Time involved in journey to work
- (2) Cost involved in journey to work

###### B. Automobile Ownership

There is no significant difference in automobile ownership or non-ownership in respect to mode of travel in the journey to work

###### C. Distance to Public Transportation

There is no significant difference in the distance to public transportation in respect to mode of travel.

###### D. Sex

There are no significant differences between the sexes with respect to:

- (1) Mode of travel
- (2) Time
- (3) Cost

##### Socio-economic Status Variables

###### A. Income per Week

There are no significant differences in income per week with respect to the commuting variables: mode of travel, time, and cost

###### B. Occupational Status

There are no significant differences in occupational status with respect to the commuting variables

###### C. Index of Status Characteristics

There is no significant difference in status as determined by the ISC with respect to the commuting variables

###### D. Dwelling Area Rating

There are no significant differences in dwelling area ratings with respect to the commuting variables

John E. Watson, "Traveling Time to Work," *ibid.*, pp. 282-291; Institute for Research in Social Science, *Population Distribution—Spatial and Temporal: A Study of Daytime-Nighttime Differentials in the Proportionate Distribution of the Total Population of Selected Urban Areas*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina (Industrial Areas Study), 1952; Robert B. Mitchell and Chester Rapkin, *Urban Traffic: A Function of Land Use*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> J. Douglas Carroll, Jr., "Home-Work Relationships of Industrial Employees," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1950, pp. 21, 24, 130; *Population Distribution—Spatial and Temporal*, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> John A. Ranyak, "A Theoretical Approach to the Journey to Work," Bachelor's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1952, pp. 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> Leo F. Schnore, "The Separation of Home and Work: A Problem for Human Ecology," *Social Forces*, 32 (December, 1954), pp. 336-343.

<sup>5</sup> Kate K. Leipmann, *The Journey to Work*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1944; and Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology*, New York: The Ronald Press, 1950.

<sup>6</sup> See for example: James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950, pp. 285-

288; Robert M. Haig and Roswell C. McCrea, "Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement," *Regional Survey of New York and Environs*, New York: Regional Plan Commission, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 38-39; and Walter T. Martin, *The Rural-Urban Fringe*, Eugene: The University of Oregon Press, 1953, p. 15.

## METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The investigation was carried out in Spokane, Washington, as part of a more inclusive study concerned with the separation of workplace from place of residence. The study was arbitrarily restricted to the political boundaries of the city of Spokane, which had a population in 1950 of 161,721. The data for the study were obtained through the use of personal interviews by trained interviewers using schedules. The design called for a multistage area type sample

ables of mode of transportation, costs, and the time involved in this journey. The basic method of analysis used to test each of the hypotheses stated above was chi-square. The .05 per cent level was used to test for significance.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The interviewers were given directions to interview or secure information about the breadwinner in each household in the sample, hence there is a disproportionate number

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE AND FOR THE TOTAL CITY BY SEX, HOME TENURE STATUS, AND OCCUPATION

Variable	Sample		Spokane ‡ Population 14 Years and Over	
	Number	Per Cent	in Labor Force	Per Cent
Sex				
Male	280	85.1	46,688	70.01
Female	49	14.9	19,996	29.99
	329*	100.0	66,684	100.00
Home Tenure				
Owners	255	77.3	33,545	63.30
Renters	75	22.7	19,449	36.70
	330*	100.0	52,994	100.00
Occupational Distribution				
Professional and managerial †	68	21.6	14,515	23.52
Clerical and sales	80	25.4	16,036	25.98
Service	45	14.3	8,109	13.14
Skilled	70	22.2	9,922	16.08
Semi-skilled	31	9.8	9,241	14.97
Unskilled	21	6.7	3,896	6.31
	315*	100.0	61,719	100.00

\* The totals vary because of blanks or non-responses on the schedule.

† Included four respondents who owned or managed farms and lived within the city limits.

‡ County and City Data Book, 1952. (U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census).

based upon an adaptation of the Bureau of the Census sampling procedure.<sup>7</sup> The number of adults per dwelling unit in randomly selected blocks were listed, and the actual sample was then randomly selected from this listing. The respondents selected for the sample were interviewed during a one-week period in March, 1952. Schedules were completed for 331 respondents; data were secured on such items as: education, age, income, residential mobility, job mobility, occupation, house type, dwelling area rating, in addition to journey to work vari-

ables of mode of transportation, costs, and the time involved in this journey. The basic method of analysis used to test each of the hypotheses stated above was chi-square. The .05 per cent level was used to test for significance.

The median weekly income for the homeowners in the sample was \$82.56, and the median income for the renters in the sample was \$68.17 per week.

The data showing the occupational distribution in Table 1 indicate that the sample derived for this study tended to be skewed toward the upper end of the occupational scale. Although there is a high proportion of home ownership in Spokane, the sample is evidently biased in this direction (see Table 1).

<sup>7</sup> The method was suggested by Julius Jahn.

## FINDINGS

It has been pointed out that the mode of travel in our cities is related to the size of the city. Duncan found that the use of the automobile does not diminish appreciably in American cities of moderate size, despite the opportunity of reaching the place of work through other means.<sup>8</sup> He found that in six cities of 100,000 to 500,000 population, there was a median of 72 per cent who arrived in private automobiles. The present study of Spokane found that 73 per cent of the sample used an automobile to travel to work.

The sub-hypothesis involving the relationship in mode of travel and the daily cost of transportation to work was rejected. (All statistically significant findings are shown in Table 2.) Analysis shows that the differences in mode of travel with respect to the cost of the journey to work were significant beyond the .001 level. The cost of the journey to work was greater for a larger number of commuters using an automobile than for those using other means of transportation, particularly public transportation. The median cost of traveling to work one-way for those using an automobile was 26 cents per day; for those not using an automobile the cost was 14 cents per day. The median cost of the journey to work one-way for the total sample was 18 cents per day. Certainly, the argument that it costs more money to use an automobile to travel to work is borne out by these figures. This does not necessarily argue for using public transportation, as is so often done by planners and traffic experts, for the use of the automobile is now considered a necessity by many Americans. It has, to be sure, become a part of the urban way of life, tied in with the growing separation of work-place from place of residence.

The question of the validity and reliability of the measure of cost of travel to work might be legitimately raised. This is undoubtedly a complex problem, and the technique used in this study of asking people to estimate the costs of driving their car is admittedly deficient. A more satisfactory alternative

would have been to have the respondents keep a record of all expenses within a given time period and to mail the record to the investigator at the end of that period.

It was hypothesized that there would be no statistically significant differences in the mode of travel to work with respect to the time involved in travel to work. (Time is used here as an index to the distance between workplace and residence.) No significant differences were found between those who walk or use public transportation and, on the other hand, those who use a private automobile. Of those respondents who arrived at work in less than ten minutes, 71.4 per cent of them traveled via an automobile; for those who arrived at work in 10-19 minutes from the time they left home, 73.8 per cent traveled by automobile. Analysis of the data showed that at the extremes of the time involved in getting to work, i.e., the lower as well as the upper, the automobile users were in the majority.

The median time involved in going to work for those using an auto was 17.0 minutes, and for those not using an auto the median time was slightly higher, 19.0; for the total sample, the median time was 17.5 minutes. A thirty minute commuting time in an automobile is equivalent to traveling a distance of about fifteen miles. Hence, the median distance traveled in Spokane was eight and one-half miles for those using an automobile. This is a rather high figure for a city of this size, but it may be partially explained by the fact that many workers living in Spokane commute to an industrial suburb to work in the aluminum mills. The data indicate that the automobile does lend a certain flexibility to the worker with respect to increasing the separation between his place of work and his residence.

The sub-hypothesis concerned with the relationship of owners and non-owners of automobiles and their mode of travel to work was rejected by the data. The differences between these two groups was significant beyond the .001 level, with the preponderant number of owner-respondents traveling to work either in their own or some other person's automobile. Ownership of an automobile undoubtedly influences the manner used to journey to work. Indeed, the spread of automobile ownership to all segments of society has led city planners to the belief

<sup>8</sup> Otis Dudley Duncan, "An Examination of the Problem of Optimum City Size," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949, pp. 56-63.

that the automobile has displaced mass transportation as the principal mode of travel to and from work.

Analysis of the data showed no statistically significant differences in the distance to public transportation with respect to the mode of travel, verifying this specific sub-hypothesis. This tends to support the findings of Duncan that proximity to public transportation did not appear to be a major influence in the use of such methods in going to work. More than 68 per cent of the sample respondents used an automobile to journey to work. Of these, 54.2 per cent lived within one block of public transportation and 73.6 per cent lived within two blocks of transportation. On the other hand,

tion with regard to the way in which they travel to work? A test of this relationship showed there were statistically significant differences ( $P=.001$ ) between the sexes in their mode of travel. It may be noted that more than 75 per cent of the males journeyed to work in an automobile as compared to only 10 per cent of the females in the sample.

A test of differences between the sexes in the daily cost of traveling showed these differences to be statistically significant beyond the .01 per cent level. Theoretically, the finding that there are statistically significant differences with regard to the cost and the mode of travel in the journey is of some importance from an understanding of

TABLE 2. SIGNIFICANT CHI-SQUARE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE JOURNEY TO WORK \*

	N	d.f.	X <sup>2</sup>	C†	$\bar{C}$
Transportation Variables					
1. Mode of travel: Cost	264	2	52.98	.409	.597
2. Automobile ownership status: Mode of travel	312	2	102.81	.498	.727
3. Sex: Mode of travel	311	2	49.83	.362	.528
4. Sex: Cost	265	2	13.24	.218	.318
Socio-economic Status Variables					
5. Income: Mode of travel	288	4	46.14	.362	.481
6. Occupational status: Time	293	12	28.11	.296	.343

\* Significant at or beyond the .05 level.

† The formula used in computing C is:  $C = \frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}$ . The correction formula,  $\bar{C} = \frac{C}{t, t_c}$  it taken from

T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1941, p. 207.

of those using public transportation to travel to work, 91.6 per cent lived within two blocks of public transportation. Residential proximity to public transportation did not appear to be a factor in automobile ownership. Analysis showed no significant difference in automobile ownership and non-ownership with respect to distance to public transportation.

*Sex Differentials.* One of the purposes of this study was to establish, in addition to the characteristics of occupation and income, the differential sex characteristics in regard to mode, time, and cost involved in traveling between place of residence and the place of work. Analysis of the data by sex characteristics with regard to commuting time to work failed to yield statistically significant differences. Are there differences between the male and female working popula-

the dynamics of urban working life. The data indicate that there are significant differences in the cost of the mode of travel, with the user of the automobile paying the higher cost for the convenience of driving to work in an automobile. Since these data indicate that the female worker in Spokane tends to ride to work in public transportation, we would expect that the costs of the journey to work would be differentiated on the basis of sex, i.e., it costs the women less money to get to work than it does the men. This was borne out by the results which showed that for those spending 20 cents or less to travel to work one-way, 51.5 per cent were males and 80.5 per cent were females.

*Socio-economic Status Differentials: Income.* A major determinant of status in our society is the amount of income earned by an individual. Ogburn has appropriately



raised the question: "How do the length of the journey to work and the mode of travel vary with income . . . how prevalent is the tendency for higher income workers to live greater distances from work?"<sup>9</sup> A cross-tabulation between income per week of the respondents and time involved in the journey to work showed that there were no statistically significant differences. According to the data in this sample of Spokane, distance between place of residence and place of work, as measured by time involved in getting to work, was not differentiated on the basis of income. These findings are in disagreement with those of Carroll who found that lower income groups tend to live closer to work.<sup>10</sup>

The relationship between cost of the journey to work and income per week was tested and also showed no statistically significant differences. Analysis of the percentage differences of the income groups in terms of cost of travel showed that they were in the expected direction although the over-all differences were not statistically significant.

Statistically significant differences ( $P=.001$ ) were found in the income of respondents with respect to their mode of travel to work. There were few respondents in this sample who walked to work; the majority of the respondents in the category "without auto" used public transportation. It is noteworthy to observe that the mode of travel was particularly differentiated in the extremes; only 1.5 per cent of the respondents using an automobile to travel to work had a weekly income of \$39 or less, whereas 32.3 per cent had incomes of \$100 or more. Furthermore, the two middle-income categories of \$60-\$79 and \$80-\$90 showed little differentiation in the mode of travel to work. These findings again are in conflict with Carroll's research in Massachusetts where he found that the lower income groups were more likely than upper income groups to use automobiles to travel to work.<sup>11</sup> It should be recalled that Carroll's study was made in a more developed, heavily populated, industrial

center in the East, where the phenomenon of suburbanization and the commuter train is widespread. On the other hand, the cities of the West, such as Spokane, tend to have large areas of relatively sparsely-settled land within the corporate limits. In this city, as in others, the outer zone has been developed for middle-class residences. The phenomenon of the commuter train is non-existent here; the automobile is the major vehicle of transportation. The public transportation system does serve these areas, but this is not rapid transportation, and the resident of these areas utilizes his automobile to travel to work.

*Socio-Economic Status Differentials: Occupation.* A person's occupation may be considered to be of primary importance in the assignment of that person to a given class position in society. Some have even considered it to be the most important single factor in the constellation of items that enter into determination of social class.<sup>12</sup> The Edwards' occupational socio-economic status scale was used to categorize the respondents in this study; cross-tabulations of the occupational classifications were then made with the commuting data to determine the relationship between this variable and commuting.

Analysis of the data by occupation and the time involved in getting to work showed that there were differences statistically significant at the .01 level. The data show that respondents in the upper socio-economic status occupations tend to spend less time traveling between their home and place of work than the respondents in the lower socio-economic status occupational categories.

There were no statistically significant differences in occupational status of the respondents with respect to the daily cost of the journey to work. When the occupational groups were dichotomized into "High" and "Low" categories, the only differences noted in the cost of the journey to work were that 30.3 per cent of the "High" occupational group spent more than 30 cents in one-way travel as compared to 26.5 per cent of the

<sup>9</sup> In Donald J. Bogue (editor), *Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research*, Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1953, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Carroll, "Home-Work Relationships of Industrial Employees," *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Paul K. Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55, (May, 1950), pp. 533-43; Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 216-222.

respondents in the "Low" occupational categories.

No significant differences in occupation were found with respect to the mode of travel to work.

*Socio-economic Status Differentials: Index of Status Characteristics.* The data were also analyzed in terms of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics.<sup>13</sup> Every respondent was assigned a rating according to this technique; these ratings were then combined into groupings for purposes of analysis. (Roughly the groupings correspond with Middle Class, Working Class, and Lower Class according to the method suggested by Warner, *et. al.*) The commuting data were then cross-tabulated with the ISC rating and no statistically significant differences were found. This finding is interesting in the light of the results obtained with income and occupation with respect to the variables of mode of travel and time.

*Socio-economic Status Differentials: Dwelling Area Rating.* The sociological study of the community has included the spatial distribution of various types of residential areas, e.g., Burgess' descriptive categories of "working men's homes or 'two-flat area', single-family dwellings and the restricted district."<sup>14</sup> Research has shown that income, occupation, and in general, socio-economic stratification is closely related to housing variation. One basis for stratifying the population of a community is to use the natural residential area, in this case, census tracts, and to assign relative ranks to each. It is then possible to test hypotheses relating to differences between residential areas and time-distance, cost, and mode of travel in the journey to work.

The method employed in this study to classify the residential areas was based on the techniques described by Warner, Meeker, and Eells.<sup>15</sup> They suggest the use of a seven point scale ranging from "very high" to "very low" to rank the areas. Each rating in the present study applies to the census tract in which the respondent lived. The

rating ascribed to each tract was determined by the judgments of eight resident interviewers in Spokane; in addition, eight students at Washington State College, residents of Spokane, were also asked to rate the census tracts. The modal (or most frequent) judgment of these persons was the rating applied to the tract. None of the forty-one census tracts were rated Type 1 (very high) by these judges, nor were any of the census tracts rated Type 7 (very low). For analytical purposes, the dwelling areas were combined into three categories as follows: Types 2 and 3 (high and above average), Type 4 (average), and Types 5 and 6 (below average and low).

On the basis of these categories a series of chi-square tests were made to determine if there were statistically significant differences among the ratings of the dwelling areas with regard to mode of travel, time-distance to work, or the cost involved in travel. No statistically significant differences were found in the dwelling area ratings with respect to these dependent variables.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This study has provided data about the commuting patterns and differences of various socio-economic groups in a medium-sized city. Facts have been presented about the mode of travel, commuting time, and commuting costs in the journey to work. Differentials in these commuting characteristics for major areas of the city, for each sex, for each occupational group as well as socio-economic characteristics were examined.

The results of the study suggest certain implications for our changing social order. The rather widespread ownership of the automobile and its use as the major vehicle of transportation in the daily journey to work appear to render greater flexibility to the breadwinner with regard to location of his residence in terms of his place of work. This flexibility of movement may have an effect of reducing residential mobility, increasing job mobility, and perhaps increasing what Schnore calls the dysfunctional aspects of the journey to work.

It is important to note that none of the socio-economic status variables showed statistically significant differences with respect to the cost of the journey to work. Income

<sup>13</sup> W. Lloyd Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949.

<sup>14</sup> Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie, *The City*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> Warner, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-154.

and occupation yielded statistically significant differences only with respect to mode of travel in the former case and time involved in the journey to work in the latter case.

It should be noted here again that the study was restricted to the corporate limits of Spokane. Although these limits embraced relatively large areas of sparsely settled land on the periphery of the city, it is possible that an areally larger sample to

include the fringe residents, might have yielded different results. Hence, there are certain limitations to the generality of the present study.

Certainly the study indicates that more research is needed in this field. We need research in cities of different sizes, of different ecological organization or pattern, of different economic bases, and in different regions of the country.

## OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION AND INTELLIGENCE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES AND SMALL TOWNS IN MISSOURI

C. T. PIHLBLAD AND C. L. GREGORY

*The University of Missouri*

**A**N earlier paper<sup>1</sup> presented data designed to throw light on the possible selective aspect of rural-urban migration among youth in Missouri. The data were drawn from a sample of young people who attended high school in 116 Missouri communities from 1939 to 1941 and whose whereabouts in 1952 were known. The investigation seemed to support the conclusion that migration from farms and small towns in Missouri towards urban areas during the period between 1940 and 1952 tended to be selective of those students with higher scores on a standard intelligence test. Both in terms of average score and in terms of the proportion of those with highest scores, the migrants seemed definitely superior to the nonmigrants. Those who moved to larger communities were superior to the ones remaining at home or moving to smaller towns, and those migrants who moved beyond state boundaries seemed superior to those who remained within the State of Missouri.

In the interpretation of the superior test performance of migrants as compared to nonmigrants, of migrants to cities as compared to movers to small towns and farms, or of long distance migrants as compared to short distance ones, it was suggested that intelligence in itself was probably not a

primary factor. There is probably no "natural tendency" for the less able to stay at home and for those with higher capacity to move. The explanation may lie in the fact that those with higher test intelligence tend to gravitate to occupations which are associated more with urban than with rural life. That is, both in training opportunity and in the pursuit of occupation, outlets tend to be limited primarily to cities. The next steps in the study, therefore, are to analyze the relationship between intelligence<sup>2</sup> and occupation and, secondly, to relate occupation to various aspects of migration. We shall undertake the first of these steps in this paper, leaving the second for a later presentation.

The relationship between occupation and test intelligence has been the subject of considerable investigation.<sup>3</sup> Most of the

<sup>2</sup> The term "intelligence" as used in this paper means "test intelligence" as manifested by a score on the *Ohio State University Intelligence Test*. No assumptions are made as to the abilities tested except to suggest that they correlate highly with success in high school and college and probably measure about the same kind of abilities as do college aptitude tests. See W. R. Carter, *The Missouri College Aptitude Testing Program*, The University of Missouri Bulletin, Educational Series, No. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold Anderson, James C. Brown, and Mary Jean Bowman, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Political Economy*, 60 (1952), pp. 218-239; Otis Dudley Duncan, "Is the Intelligence of the General Population Declining?" *American Sociological Review*, 17 (August, 1952), pp. 401-407; G. A. Foulds and J. C. Ranen, "In-

<sup>1</sup> C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Migration Among Missouri High School Graduates," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954), pp. 314-324.



studies, however, have been limited to a comparison of the intelligence of school children classified on the basis of parental occupation. A few studies have correlated test scores achieved while the students were in school with occupations actually pursued some time later, but the difficulty of obtaining the data necessary for such studies has made them rather rare.

The results of both types of studies support the hypothesis that there tends to be a hierarchy of occupational structure which is closely related to test intelligence, whether the classification is based on the subject's parental occupation or on his own occupation. Those who are engaged in the professions, or those whose fathers were so engaged, tend to rank highest on test scores, with the business and clerical groups following, while farmers and unskilled workers rank at the bottom.

The material for the investigation is more completely described in our earlier paper.<sup>4</sup> Briefly, it consists of the *Ohio State University Intelligence Test* scores for about 5,000 boys and girls who were high school seniors in 116 Missouri communities in 1939-41. The data also include information concerning the 1952 residence and occupation as well as the parental occupation of each subject, supplied by local informants such as parents, teachers, neighbors, and others. Data on 1952 occupation and parental occupation were available for approximately 4,000 cases.

The occupational classification adopted in this study is substantially the same as that utilized in other similar investigations.<sup>5</sup> The specific occupation for each subject was grouped into one of the following eleven

tellectual Ability and Occupational Grade," *Occupational Psychology*, 22 (1948), pp. 197-203; Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and C. L. Gregory, *Selective Factors in Occupation and Migration*, The University of Missouri Studies, Columbia, Missouri, 1943; Paul Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (1950), pp. 533-43; W. E. Moser, "Vocational Preference as Related to Mental Ability," *Occupations*, 27 (1949), pp. 460-61; Richard Stephenson, "Status Achievement and the Occupational Pyramid," *Social Forces*, 31 (1932), pp. 75-77.

<sup>4</sup> Pihlblad and Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-15.

<sup>5</sup> See: Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn, *Dynamics of Population: Social and Biological Significance of Changing Birth Rates in the United States*, New York: Macmillan, 1934, Chapter VIII.

categories: professional, teachers, clerical, business, skilled workers, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, farmers, personal service, military service, students, and housewives. The military service category was used since a substantial number of the male subjects were in the armed services in 1952. The housewife category included considerably more than half the female subjects who were married and not gainfully employed. The fact that males could hardly be reported as housewives, or females as farmers, and the fact that there were few males reported in "personal service" or females in military service make the occupational classes different for males and females.

For the purpose of comparing test performance between occupational groups we have utilized frequency distributions with each occupation classified into a high, medium, and low group on the basis of raw scores on the Ohio test. Those with scores 60 and above comprise the "high" group, those with scores from 30 to 59 the "medium" group, and those with scores below 30 the "low" group. Comparisons are made also in terms of arithmetic means for each occupational group. Since the general test performance of the girls was significantly superior to that of the boys, and since occupational differences exist between males and females, each sex group is treated separately. Table 1 presents the 1952 occupations of 1,770 males and 2,217 females classified into three score intervals in terms of the Ohio Intelligence Test,<sup>6</sup> together with mean score for each occupational class.

A rather clear relationship between occupational choice and test score appears in the tables. There is a rather consistent tendency for the professional, teacher, and military groups to recruit a disproportionate

<sup>6</sup> A serious weakness in the data lies in the large number of cases for which occupational information was unreported. In the case of males this amounted to about one-fourth and for females about one-seventh of the total number of cases. If non-reporting were systematic, its extent would be sufficiently large to distort the results seriously. To meet this criticism we have compared the test scores of the unreported group with those for the group as a whole. The chi square of the two distributions is not significant at the five per cent level. The chances that the "unreported" group comes from a universe different from that of the "total" are less than one in 1,000.



## OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION AND INTELLIGENCE IN MISSOURI

65

TABLE 1. TEST SCORES BY SEX AND OCCUPATION

Males *					
Occupation	Percentage Distribution			Mean Score †	Number
	Low	Medium	High		
	0-29 Per Cent	30-59 Per Cent	60 and Over Per Cent		
Total	14.5	62.6	22.6	48.1	1770
Professional	3.7	48.1	48.1	66.0	162
Teachers	3.8	52.5	43.8	61.3	80
Students	4.7	60.5	34.8	57.6	43
Military	11.9	54.8	33.3	55.4	135
Clerical	17.2	55.2	27.6	50.9	58
Business and sales	14.4	65.4	20.2	47.6	347
Skilled	12.9	70.3	16.8	46.1	232
Semi-skilled and unskilled	17.7	66.9	15.4	43.4	311
Farmers	20.9	64.2	14.9	43.2	402
Females ‡					
Occupation	Percentage Distribution			Mean Score †	Number
	Low	Medium	High		
	0-29 Per Cent	30-59 Per Cent	60 and Over Per Cent		
Total	9.9	57.0	33.1	54.5	2217
Professional	1.9	42.3	55.8	67.9	52
Teachers	7.5	55.0	37.5	62.4	80
Clerical	3.6	55.3	41.1	59.5	197
Business and sales	20.0	48.3	31.7	51.2	60
Skilled	10.5	73.7	15.8	49.2	19
Semi-skilled and unskilled	19.6	60.8	19.6	45.0	51
Personal service	12.1	72.7	15.8	47.1	33
Housewives	10.3	57.4	32.3	53.8	1725

\* Excludes 555 males for whom occupation was unreported and 67 who were unclassifiable.

† The standard error of the difference between all possible pairings of these means ranged from 1 to 5 units on the Ohio Scale. Most of the errors were grouped around 2.5 to 3 units so that any absolute difference of five or six points or larger on the Ohio Scale is generally statistically significant at the five per cent level.

‡ Excludes 358 females for whom occupation was unreported and 44 who were unclassifiable.

number of individuals with high scores (above 60). At the other end of the scale there are relatively few individuals with scores less than 30 among these three categories. On the other hand, among farmers and semi-skilled and unskilled workers the proportion of those with high scores tends to be small, and larger numbers of "low" score individuals are to be found. In the male sample as a whole, 23 per cent scored 60 and above, while in the professional, teacher, and military categories the corresponding proportions were 48 per cent, 44 per cent, and 33 per cent. On the other hand, the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, and farmer categories contained respectively 17 per cent, 15 per cent, and 15 per cent who

achieved a score of 60 and higher. About 15 per cent of the total males are in the low group with scores below 30. The proportion in the two professional groups, however, was less than 4 per cent, and in the military it was about 12 per cent. In the low group were 21 per cent of the farmers, 18 per cent of the unskilled, and 13 per cent of the skilled.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Chi-square values between the total male distribution and the male distribution for professionals, teachers and farmers are significant at the 1 per cent level; significant at the 5 per cent level for students, skilled workers and semi-skilled and unskilled workers; not significant for clerical and the business and sales categories. For females total distribution compared with professional and clerical

Although the same general patterns seem to prevail, the differences between the occupational categories are not quite so clear for the girls. The distributions for the professional, teacher, and clerical categories are skewed toward the high segment of the continuum, although the deviations from the distribution for the total sex group are not so great as those in the male group. It may be noticed that for the girls the clerical group ranks above the teacher group with a chi-square significant at the 1 per cent level. The distribution for teachers, however, does not deviate significantly from the total group. Those classified in the business, the skilled, the unskilled, and the personal service categories contain larger proportions of the "low" and smaller proportions of the "high" (as compared with the total sample). Deviations from the total distribution are significant at the 5 per cent level for business and unskilled workers; however the other differences are of lesser magnitude. The number of cases in the skilled and the personal service groups is too small to make reliable comparisons. The distribution for the 1725 housewives was almost identical with that for the group as a whole.

In Table 1 are shown the mean scores of males and females for each occupational group.<sup>8</sup> For the males there is a consistent decrease in the average test score from a high of 66.0 in the professional to a low of 43.2 among the farmers. The occupational groups arrange themselves in the same order for the girls, with a mean of 68 in the professional to mean of 45.0 in the unskilled. It may be noted that the personal service category is a little higher than the unskilled group among the girls; however the differ-

distributions yield chi-squares significant at the 1 per cent level; business and semi-skilled and unskilled at the 5 per cent level. Not significant were the differences between the total and teachers, skilled workers, personal service and housewives.

<sup>8</sup>The question as to the significance of the differences between the means shown in Table 1, in light of the underreporting mentioned above, has been raised. This criticism can be anticipated by comparing the means for the non-reported group with those for the total sample. For males the "no reports" showed a mean of 49.7 as compared with 48.1 for the total excluding "no reports." For females the corresponding means were 50.4 and 54.5. Absolute differences of less than 5 points are not significant at the 5 per cent level.

ence is not statistically significant. Noteworthy also is the fact that girls are consistently superior to boys in each occupational group although the differences are statistically significant only in the "total" and the "clerical" categories.

Special attention might be directed to the military group among the males. This category is composed of men who have enlisted or re-enlisted after service during World War II. None would have been serving at this time to meet the legal military service requirement. It is a category in which one would have found few cases before the war. Somewhat contrary to expectations, we found this a relatively superior group. On the basis of the total distribution one would have expected thirty individuals to score 60 or higher, but actually forty-five made a score of 60 or better. The difference between the military group and all males was about three times the standard error of the difference.

Among the girls clerical occupations attracted a relatively higher proportion of superior individuals than among boys. On the basis of the distribution between the low, medium, and high categories the clericals appeared somewhat superior to teachers among the girls, although the mean score for teachers was slightly higher than for the clericals. The difference in means was too small to be statistically significant. Perhaps the differential occupational opportunity for boys and girls causes the girls to be content with less prestigious occupations. It may also be that clerical jobs for women carry more prestige, are better remunerated, and are more sought after in the rural communities from which most of these people came than are jobs in teaching, for example. Note that the mean score for teachers among the boys is relatively higher than it is for girls, while the reverse is true of the clerical ratio.

#### TEST SCORES AND PARENTAL OCCUPATION

As observed above, most early studies of occupation and intelligence have been concerned with the relationship between the achievement of school children and the occupation of parent. Our data permit exploration of this relationship and also provide an opportunity for analyzing the interrela-

tions between intelligence, occupational choice, and occupational background. The limitations of space, however, make it necessary to leave consideration of this more complex problem for a later paper. In this

of relationship between occupation and test performance appears as when the occupational classification is based on the student's own occupation. With very minor exceptions the occupations fall into the same rank

TABLE 2. TEST SCORES BY SEX AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Father's Occupation	Males *				
	Percentage Distribution			Mean Score †	Number
	Low	Medium	High		
	0-29 Per Cent	30-59 Per Cent	60 and Over Per Cent		
Total	14.4	62.3	23.3	48.8	1741
Professional	11.3	43.5	45.2	64.2	62
Teacher	13.3	40.0	46.7	64.3	15
Clerical	9.5	52.4	38.1	55.0	21
Business and sales	12.9	60.8	26.3	51.2	209
Skilled	10.9	61.2	27.9	50.9	147
Semi-skilled and unskilled	8.7	68.3	23.0	50.0	230
Farmers	16.8	63.0	20.2	46.6	1057

Father's Occupation	Females ‡				
	Percentage Distribution			Mean Score †	Number
	Low	Medium	High		
	0-29 Per Cent	30-59 Per Cent	60 and Over Per Cent		
Total	10.2	56.9	32.9	54.1	1784
Professional	6.3	22.2	71.4	73.7	63
Teacher	10.0	50.0	40.0	63.0	10
Clerical	0.0	62.5	37.5	62.5	8
Business and sales	4.8	49.6	45.6	60.5	228
Skilled	11.0	56.7	32.3	53.9	127
Semi-skilled and unskilled	10.4	56.7	32.9	54.2	240
Farmers	11.5	60.5	28.1	51.6	1108

\* Excludes 606 males for whom father's occupation was unreported, and 45 whose occupations were unclassifiable.

† See footnote Table 1.

‡ Excludes 796 females for whom father's occupation was unreported, and 39 whose occupations were unclassifiable.

section discussion is confined to the simple relation between intelligence and father's occupation.

In Table 2 1,741 males and 1,784 females are classified by occupation of father into high, medium, and low categories based on the Ohio scores.<sup>9</sup> The same general pattern

<sup>9</sup> Again the underreporting of occupational data raises the question as to the distribution of test scores in the underreported group. Again the answer is the same. The unreported groups for both sexes are almost identical in distribution of test scores and in mean score with the total sample. The underreporting seems to have been entirely random, at least as far as test intelligence is concerned.

order as they do when the ranking is based on the student's own occupation. Significantly larger proportions of high score subjects and smaller proportions of low score individuals come from home backgrounds in the professions than is true for the group as a whole.<sup>10</sup> Sons and daughters of teachers also appear to outrank the group as a whole, although the small number of cases in this category makes the comparison somewhat

<sup>10</sup> Chi-square values are significant at the 1 per cent level for both sexes.

unreliable.<sup>11</sup> At the other extreme are the sons and daughters of farmers, both of whom are significantly below the total group distribution. The daughters of business-class fathers appear to be significantly above the total for all girls with higher proportions of "high" score and lower proportions of "low" score cases.<sup>12</sup> The sons of fathers engaged in business are a representative sample of the total male group. The clerical occupations appear to produce a disproportionate share of "high" score individuals in both sexes, although the number of cases (21 males and 8 females) is too small to yield a significant chi-square. The sons and daughters of manual workers, skilled or unskilled, are not significantly different in their score distribution from the total of the given sex group. Attention is directed to the fact that the manual occupations generally select the low scoring students, but students coming from homes in which the father is engaged in a manual occupation are a fair cross-section of the total population.

Table 2 shows the mean test scores by parental occupation separately for each sex. Since about 60 per cent of all the subjects came from farm homes, this group exerts a statistically dominant influence on the sex groups as a whole. In spite of this fact, both the sons and daughters of farmers exhibit means significantly lower than the total group mean.<sup>13</sup> These differences are statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. The sons of teachers also had an equally high mean score, although the daughters did not do so well. Again, the number of cases is too small to make the mean differences significant. Although the average performance of daughters of business men is 12 per cent above the group average for all girls, the mean score for the sons of business class fathers is not significantly different from that of the total average. The mean scores for sons and daughters of manual workers were close to the total group means but were not significantly different at the 5 per cent level. This suggests that the break in the continuum of

mean scores in the occupational series comes between the farm children and the children of fathers in other occupations. Probably the difference reflects the generally poorer test performance of farm children as compared with town and city groups, a difference that shows up in a great number of studies of intelligence of school children.

So far, in our discussion, we have dealt with the relationship between test intelligence and occupational choice as well as occupational background. A significant relationship between test score and occupation has been demonstrated in both relationships. A logical next step in the study would be an analysis of the role of intelligence in the shift between the parental occupation and the subjects own occupation. That intelligence does play a role is suggested by the fact that considerably greater differences in test scores appear between the occupational groups when the classification is based on the subject's own occupation than when it is based on the father's occupation. This difference could be produced by a tendency for the high score individuals, who were sons of manual workers and farmers, to gravitate toward white collar occupations, while the low score subjects, who were reared in white collar backgrounds, shift toward the manual occupations. The test of this hypothesis seems, however, more closely related to the whole problem of occupational shifts between father's and subject's own occupation than it does to the central theme of this paper. Complete discussion must be deferred to a later paper.

#### OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION THROUGH MARRIAGE

One aspect of our problem remains to be analyzed. This is the occupational selection involved in marriage choice. It may be argued that this is a separate and different problem from that involved in the choice of occupation by the subject himself. Nevertheless, when a young woman chooses a husband, she also indirectly marries into an occupation. Her social status as a wife will be determined largely by the occupation of her husband, and her system of values and attitudes will be shaped in large part by the occupational stratum with which she is identified. We might, therefore, suspect that

<sup>11</sup> Chi-square values are significant at the 5 per cent level for boys but not for girls.

<sup>12</sup> Chi-square values are significant at the 1 per cent level.

<sup>13</sup> The critical ratio for males was 3.2 and for females 3.0.



the test scores of married women will be related to the occupational status of their husbands, and that women with high test scores will tend to marry into occupations which tend to attract men with high scores. Conversely, women with low scores will tend to marry into occupations which disproportionately attract "low score males."<sup>14</sup>

Of the 2,619 women in our sample 2,052, or 74 per cent, were married. Of these, occupational information concerning their hus-

Nevertheless there is a similarity of pattern which supports our hypothesis. Husbands from the professional category seem to attract wives disproportionately from the high score group.<sup>16</sup> Even higher is the group of wives who were married to students, although the number of this group is so small as to make comparison of doubtful significance. On the other hand, wives of clerical workers, farmers, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers were drawn disproportion-

TABLE 3. TEST SCORES FOR MARRIED WOMEN BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION \*

Husband's Occupation	Percentage Distribution			Mean Score	Number
	Low 0-29 Per Cent	Medium 30-59 Per Cent	High 60 and Over Per Cent		
Total	9.7	58.3	32.1	53.9	1297
Professional	3.6	41.7	54.8	66.2	84
Teacher	8.9	48.2	42.9	61.3	56
Students	0.0	57.1	42.9	71.4	14
Clerical	16.7	55.6	27.8	57.6	36
Military	5.5	58.9	35.6	51.1	73
Business and sales	6.0	59.4	34.7	55.8	251
Skilled	6.2	62.9	30.9	53.8	178
Semi-skilled and unskilled	15.1	57.4	27.5	49.9	251
Farmers	11.1	61.7	27.2	51.7	342
Personal service	16.6	83.4	0.0	42.5	12

\* Does not include 755 married women for whom data on husband's occupation were not reported or were unclassifiable. Differences between the distribution of the "no report" group and the total sample were not significant at the five per cent level. It is unlikely that the non reporting of occupational information biased the results in any significant degree. The mean of the unreported group (54.1) was almost exactly the same (53.9) as that for the entire sample.

bands was available for 1,297 cases.<sup>15</sup> In Table 3 we have presented a classification of this group by the husband's occupation by test scores grouped into "low," "medium" and "high" categories based on the same score intervals as those used in Tables 1 and 2. Mean scores for each occupational group are also shown.

The differences between the various occupational groups are not so clear cut as when based on the subject's own occupations.

<sup>14</sup> It must be kept in mind that in this section we are not matching test scores of husbands and wives. We have no way of knowing anything directly about the husbands, most of whom were probably not included in our sample. It may be that some were included due to the tendency of young people to marry their high school class mates.

<sup>15</sup> Attention is called to the fact that the 1,297 married women are not equal to the "1,725 housewives" in Table 1. The mean scores for the two groups, however, are virtually identical.

tionately from among women with lower scores. Wives of persons in military service included a somewhat smaller proportion of low score and higher proportion of high score subjects than did the group as a whole. Lowest of all were the wives of personal service workers, although here again the total group was very small.

A comparison of mean scores between the various occupational levels shows the wives of students, professional workers, and teachers significantly superior. Critical ratios between the means of wives of professionals and the means for clerical, sales people, manual workers and farmers are highly significant. In general, significant differences

<sup>16</sup> Distributions of the total sample compared with distributions of professional workers and teachers and with semi-skilled and unskilled workers are significant at the 5 per cent level. Other differences are not significant.

between means of every white collar group and every manual labor group appear.

By way of summarizing the results of the study we present in Table 4 the mean score for males and females classified both on the basis of their own occupations and the fathers' occupation. In the last columns are recapitulated the scores of married women

entered business and sales, as well as the sons and daughters of fathers in these occupations and the women who married men at this occupational level, ranked consistently close to the average of the groups as a whole. Perhaps this is partly due to the considerable diversity of this category, which includes proprietors and managers of sub-

TABLE 4. MEAN SCORE AND RANK ORDER OF OCCUPATION BY SUBJECT'S OCCUPATION, FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION

Occupational Class	Subject's Occupation				Father's Occupation				Married Women by Husband's Occupation	
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Mean	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
	N=1770		N=2217		N=1741		1784		N=1297	
Total	48.1	—	54.5	—	48.8	—	54.1	—	53.9	—
Professional	66.0	1	67.9	1	64.2	2	73.7	1	66.2	2
Teachers	61.3	2	62.4	2	64.3	1	63.0	2	61.3	3
Students	57.6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	71.4	1
Military	55.4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	57.6	4
Clerical	50.9	5	59.8	3	55.0	3	62.5	3	51.1	8
Business and sales	47.6	6	51.2	4	51.2	4	60.5	4	55.8	5
Skilled	46.1	7	44.2	7	50.9	5	53.9	6	53.8	6
Semi-skilled and unskilled	43.4	3	45.0	6	50.0	6	54.2	5	49.9	9
Personal service	—	—	47.1	5	—	—	—	—	42.5	10
Farmers	43.2	9	—	—	46.6	7	51.6	7	51.7	7

classified by husbands' occupation. The rank order for each occupational group for each of the five series is also presented. The relative position of each occupation in each series, with respect to the mean test score, can thus be compared with the position of the same occupation in every other series.

Table 4 shows rather consistently that the professions other than teaching, and the student category rank first, second and third in all classifications where they appear. These occupations tend to attract a disproportionate number of persons of high intelligence and consistently to show the highest average scores. Next follows clerical work, which selects high score women relatively more than high score men. Sons and daughters of clerical workers both ranked third although high score wives did not seek out clerical husbands. Male subjects who entered military service, as well as women who married service men, ranked somewhat above the average for the sample as a whole, with a rank of 4 in both series. Persons who

stantial business affairs, small entrepreneurs, and sales people at all levels.

Consistently ranking at the bottom of the scale in each of the five series were manual workers, both skilled and unskilled, personal service workers, and farmers. Between these classes differences in test performance were insignificant.

Taking all three groups together, there seems to be a distinct tendency for the brighter boys and girls in rural areas and in small towns of Missouri, to find their occupational levels in the higher prestige occupations, especially the professional groups, while those who perform more poorly on tests are more likely to become manual worker and farmers with somewhat lower rankings on the prestige scale. What the mechanism of this process is, and what its implications may be, are not entirely clear. Whether the same tendency would appear in large urban high schools we do not know.

It is certainly true that the sons of pro-

fessional and white collar workers are more likely to continue in these occupations than are the sons of farmers and manual workers to enter them. It is also true that the children from homes in the professions do better on tests than do those from farm and worker's homes. Whether the test perform-

ance is a significant factor, independent of occupational background, will be analyzed in another paper. Whatever the relationship may be it has significance for any theory of social mobility and social stratification, at least in the geographical area to which the data apply.

## PERCEIVED CONSENSUS WITHIN AND AMONG OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES

MARY MONK AND THEODORE M. NEWCOMB

*University of Buffalo and University of Michigan*

THIS paper presents a partial report of a study of how perceptions of the attitudes of members of occupational groups, and communication with members of such groups, are related to individuals' own attitudes. Before describing the study, some of the theoretical considerations will be outlined, and the hypotheses tested will be presented.

One of the writers has set forth some elements of a theory of communicative acts.<sup>1</sup> The theory assumes that by means of communication individuals are able to maintain simultaneous orientation toward one another and toward the object of their communication. That is, communication enables people to know something about how each feels toward the other and also about the object of communication. Such knowledge is held to be essential in establishing both the "ready calculability" of others' behavior and the basis for consensus which are so essential to the maintenance of social systems.

When the orientations of persons are similar, both toward each other and toward objects common to them, their collective adaptation toward their common environment is presumably facilitated. When people are mutually attracted to each other and have similar attitudes, it is easier to know how the others will act, and to check or validate one's own attitudes, than in the absence of these conditions. If this is assumed, then

communication leading to similarity of attitudes will be rewarded. When attraction toward the other persons is positive, similarity of attitude will be more rewarding than in the absence of such attraction. Similarly, if the attitude is strongly held, the discovery, via communication, of similar attitudes on the part of others will be more rewarding than if the attitude is one of relative indifference.

Since similarity of orientation can be achieved through communication, communication is important in influencing attitudes, particularly when the communicators are members of a group and when an attitude is intensely held. Communication conveys not only feelings about another person or some issue but also information or facts which may affect another's attitude.

If one is interested in the psychological processes by which communicators maintain common orientations toward common aspects of their environment, it is necessary to make certain assumptions not only about "objective" similarity but also about individual perceptions of others' orientations. Accuracy of such perceptions is likely to increase with increased opportunity to obtain information, via communication, and to decrease as a result of the "distorting" influences associated with the affective components of interpersonal attraction and intensity of own orientations. Whatever the degree of accuracy involved, such perceptions presumably influence communicative behavior (both in transmitting and in receiving information), and thus in turn influence the nature of the

<sup>1</sup> T. M. Newcomb, "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," *Psychological Review*, 60 (November, 1953), pp. 393-404.

social system which the communicators constitute.

Field studies by Festinger, Schachter and Back<sup>2</sup> and by Newcomb<sup>3</sup> provide some substantiation for such a theoretical approach. Investigations by Centers<sup>4</sup> and by Steiner,<sup>5</sup> relying upon sample surveys, and by Bovard,<sup>6</sup> Schachter,<sup>7</sup> and by Thibaut,<sup>8</sup> in experimental situations, have also presented evidence consistent with it.

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general hypotheses with which the present study is concerned are as follows:

1. In groups characterized by generally positive intermember attraction, and with regard to an issue generally considered to have some relevance for that group, members tend to attribute to each other attitudes like their own.
2. Those who communicate frequently with others about such an issue will more accurately perceive each others' attitudes than will those who communicate about it infrequently.
3. Those who are concerned about such an issue will tend to perceive the attitudes of other group members as more like their own than will those who are less concerned.

This study, one among several to be reported, was so designed as to put the above hypotheses to a fairly severe test. The "groups" of which the respondents were considered to be members were (1) objective social class, and (2) "three best friends,"

<sup>2</sup> L. Festinger, S. Schachter and K. Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1950.

<sup>3</sup> T. M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, New York: Dryden Press, 1943.

<sup>4</sup> R. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.

<sup>5</sup> I. Steiner, "Some Social Values Associated with Objectively and Subjectively Defined Social Class Membership," *Social Forces*, 31 (May, 1953), pp. 327-332.

<sup>6</sup> E. Bovard, "Group Structure and Perception," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (1951), pp. 398-405.

<sup>7</sup> S. Schachter, "Deviation, Rejection and Communication," in L. Festinger, et al., *Theory and Experiment in Social Communication*, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1950.

<sup>8</sup> J. Thibaut, "An Experimental Study of the Cohesiveness of Underprivileged Groups," in Festinger, et al., *op. cit.*

who might or might not be acquainted with one another. The "presumably relevant" issue was preference for Eisenhower or Stevenson as presidential candidates at the time of the election, three months prior to the time at which interviews were held. Because of the demands of another part of the study, data for which were obtained during the same interviews, all of the subjects were women, mothers of children under nineteen years of age. All of these factors—the non-primary nature of the "group," the temporal remoteness of the issue, and the generally assumed low relevance of the particular issue to this category of respondents—were thought to have an attenuating effect upon the hypothesized relationships. Such a "severe test" was planned as part of a more inclusive attempt to discover the limits within which the general hypotheses apply.

#### PROCEDURES

Subjects, selected by probability sampling<sup>9</sup> from Detroit, Michigan, were asked which of the two candidates they had preferred in the preceding presidential election. It was assumed that, even under conditions of mobility and of social and cultural change, no very marked changes in perceptions of occupational groups would be likely to have occurred during the three-month interval since the election.

Respondents were also asked to report the preferences of their three "best friends," and to estimate the proportion of three occupational groups which they thought had preferred Eisenhower: practically all, more than half, less than half, or practically none. The occupational groups were: (1) "people like factory workers and laborers" (representative of the lower working class); (2) "people like architects, lawyers, doctors and other professional people" (representative of the upper middle class); and (3) "people like salesmen, secretaries and clerks" (representative of the lower middle class). Emphasis was placed, during the interviews, on respondents' imagery of "people like . . ." rather than of male workers in the occupations cited for illustrative purposes.

They were also asked how much they

<sup>9</sup> Sample designed by the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.



had talked about the election with their friends and with members of the three occupational groups (whether they talked about the election a good deal, sometimes, very little or not at all). Communication was classified as "frequent" if the respondent replied either "a good deal" or "sometimes"; as "infrequent" for the other responses.

Concern was measured by asking the women in the sample how much they had cared before the election whether or not their preferred candidate won (whether they cared a good deal, somewhat, or it didn't make much difference). Two categories of

of their own occupational groups as similar to their own. The proportion of respondents who perceived most members of a given class as preferring their own preferred candidate was greater within that class than within other classes.

Analyses of national, state (Michigan), and local (Detroit) presidential voting in 1952 show that at the most 36 per cent of factory workers voted for Eisenhower—i.e., less than half of them preferred Eisenhower. Table 1, however, shows that 60 per cent of the Eisenhower supporters in the working class reported that more than half or prac-

TABLE 1. PERCEPTION OF FACTORY WORKERS BY THOSE IN EACH OBJECTIVE CLASS, BY RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCE

Objective Class	Preference	Perception of Factory Workers (Percentage for Eisenhower)			Number of Respondents
		More than half or All	Less than half or None	Not Ascertained	
Working	Eisenhower	59.6*	32.2	7.3	(123)
	Stevenson	38.1*	59.2	2.7	(219)
	Not ascertained	(5)	(2)	(18)	(25)
Middle	Eisenhower	35.5	59.0	5.5	(128)
	Stevenson	33.1	65.6	1.3	(77)
	Not ascertained	(4)	(4)	(2)	(10)

\* Difference between the starred groups is significant at the .05 level or beyond.

concern were established: (1) those who cared a good deal; and (2) those who cared somewhat or were indifferent.

Objective social class was based largely on the occupation of the respondent's husband. Four classes were set up—lower working (mainly operatives and laborers), upper working (skilled workers), lower middle (clerks, small business owners, and salesmen), and upper middle (most professional workers, executives and managers of large businesses). The occupations of the respondents' best friends, or of best friends' husbands, were also ascertained.

The information from the interviews was coded on IBM cards, and analyses were made to test the hypotheses stated above. In the analyses the upper and lower halves of each class were combined to provide enough numbers in each category for statistical tests of significance.

#### RESULTS

The results show clearly that respondents tended to perceive the attitudes of members

tically all of the factory workers had preferred Eisenhower. Only 36 per cent of the Eisenhower supporters in the middle class reported that more than half or all of the factory workers had been for Eisenhower, and a similar percentage of Stevenson supporters in each class reported more than half of the factory workers for Eisenhower; the difference between 60 per cent and 36 per cent is significant. (Sampling errors were calculated specifically for the sample used in this study.)

Perception of the attitudes of sales and clerical workers by members of the objective middle class reveals a similar trend (see Table 2). Twenty-one per cent of the Eisenhower supporters perceived practically all of the sales and clerical group as being for Eisenhower; ten per cent of the Stevenson supporters perceived the sales group in this way. On the other hand, 36 per cent of the Stevenson supporters in the middle class perceived sales workers as being for Stevenson, compared with 12 per cent of the Eisenhower supporters. These differences are significant.

There was also an indication that, among those in the working class, the supporters of the two candidates perceived sales and clerical workers as being for their own choice. The differences are not significant, however.

The results of the three analyses of the 1952 presidential vote are not clear, however, as to the actual percentages of sales and clerical workers who voted for Eisenhower. The Detroit study showed about 46 per cent of this group for Eisenhower; the state and national studies, about 60 or 70 per cent.

factors. Only in the case of Eisenhower supporters in the working class was there evidence of a great deal of perceptual distortion; perhaps the working class is more attractive to this group than are other groups.

The perceptions of professional workers' attitudes did not appear to follow the pattern of attributing own attitude to others as a function of attraction (see Table 3). Instead, Eisenhower supporters in the working class were more likely to perceive professional people as being for Stevenson than were any of the other groups. There was not much

TABLE 2. PERCEPTION OF SALES WORKERS GROUP BY THOSE IN EACH OBJECTIVE CLASS, BY RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCE

Objective Class	Preference	Perception of Sales Group (Percentage for Eisenhower)				Number of Respondents
		All	More than half	Less than half or None	Not Ascertained	
Middle	Eisenhower	21.1*	62.9	12.1*	3.9	(128)
	Stevenson	10.4*	50.0	35.7*	3.9	(77)
	Not ascertained	(1)	(5)	(1)	(3)	(10)
Working	Eisenhower	20.3	46.7	20.7	12.2	(123)
	Stevenson	14.2	53.5	27.4	5.0	(219)
	Not ascertained	(2)	(5)	(2)	(16)	(25)

\* Difference between the starred groups is significant at the .05 level or beyond.

There was some evidence that a majority of clerks may have been for Stevenson, while the sales workers were predominantly for Eisenhower.

It has been found in other studies that in an ambiguous situation there is more opportunity to perceive in accordance with one's own needs or frames of reference. We have also hypothesized that perception is most likely to be subjectively influenced when the object or class perceived is important or attractive to the perceiver. Our findings lend support to both propositions. Both Eisenhower and Stevenson supporters in the middle class tended to attribute their own attitudes to the sales-clerk group. Also, in this ambiguous situation those in the working class attributed their own attitudes to sales workers *et al.* However, since presumably this group was less attractive to members of the working class, the attribution was not so great.

Where the situation is less ambiguous (attitudes of factory workers), perception was not so likely to be determined by subjective

question from the voting studies that more than half of the professional workers actually voted for Eisenhower.

These results appear to be somewhat contradictory to the hypothesis concerning attribution of own attitude to attractive groups—in this case, to one's own class. However, finer analysis reveals that those who were in the middle class and preferred Stevenson were predominantly from the lower middle class. Professional people are in the upper middle class, and represent a group quite different from groups in the lower middle class. It may be that differences between lower-middle and upper-middle respondents were such that the latter were insufficiently attractive to affect the judgments of the former. These findings suggest that a group viewed as quite different from one's own may be too remote to offer enough attraction to affect perception. Also, the attitudes of professional workers were quite definitely pro-Eisenhower; there was little ambiguity about this.

Despite this clear-cut situation, 17 per cent

of the working-class Eisenhower supporters, as compared with 7 per cent of the working-class Stevenson supporters, perceived a majority of professionals as being for Stevenson. The difference in these proportions of gross misjudgments is significant, and there is some evidence for attributing it to lesser communication with professionals on the part of Eisenhower than on the part of Stevenson supporters: a significantly greater

ents' own class and voting preference is held constant, no relationship between reported communication and accuracy of perception is shown.

There was some evidence, however, that the group which perceived others' attitudes most inaccurately (the Eisenhower supporters in the working class) was less likely than the other groups to report frequent communication in general about the election (see

TABLE 3. PERCEPTION OF PROFESSIONAL WORKERS BY THOSE IN EACH OBJECTIVE CLASS, BY RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCE

Objective Class	Preference	Perception of Professional Workers (Percentage for Eisenhower)				Number of Respondents
		All	More than half	Less than half or None	Not Ascertained	
Middle	Eisenhower	46.9	41.4	7.0	4.7	(128)
	Stevenson	53.2	42.8	2.6	1.3	(77)
	Not ascertained	(3)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(10)
Working	Eisenhower	33.3*	37.0	16.7*	13.0	(123)
	Stevenson	51.2*	37.0	6.8*	5.0	(219)
	Not ascertained	(4)	(2)	(0)	(19)	(25)

\* Difference between the starred groups is significant at the .05 level or beyond.

percentage of working-class respondents preferring Eisenhower than of any other category of respondents report that they do not know the attitudes of professionals (Table 3). This is consistent with the assumption of general lack of concern and of little communication.

Perhaps professional workers—architects, lawyers, and doctors—were identified to some extent with Stevenson, a lawyer. If those in the working class preferring Eisenhower had little opportunity to communicate with this group of people, they may have assumed that they would be most likely to be for Stevenson. (Some information about the amount of communication of the different groups of respondents was gathered in the study and will be reported later.) The results of the first analysis show rather clearly, however, that members of a particular class are likely to attribute their own attitudes to the rest of that class.

The next hypothesis states that those who communicate frequently with others will more accurately perceive their attitudes than will those who communicate infrequently. The data, not shown here, do not support this hypothesis. Whether or not the respond-

Table 4). This group also reported no greater concern about the election than other groups (see Table 5). This might indicate that lack of communication, and perhaps also lack of concern, is related to inaccurate perception of others' attitudes, since the working-class group preferring Eisenhower was less accurate than other groups in its perception of factory workers' and of professional workers' attitudes. There is no direct relationship, however, between communication and accuracy, and it may be that the amount of communication is not so important in accurate perception as the content of the communication. This possibility will be discussed later.

The data relevant to the hypothesis about the relationship between concern over the issue and perception of the different groups show that much concern intensifies the findings already reported about perception. For example, Eisenhower supporters in the working class who reported much concern were more likely than those who reported little concern to perceive factory workers as being for Eisenhower. Those much concerned in the middle class were more likely to attribute their own attitudes to sales and

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE WHO REPORT FREQUENT AND INFREQUENT COMMUNICATION IN GENERAL, BY RESPONDENTS' OBJECTIVE CLASS AND PREFERENCE

Objective Class	Preference	Amount of Communication			Number of Respondents
		Frequent	Infrequent	Not Ascertained	
Working	Eisenhower	49.6*	49.0	2.4	(123)
	Stevenson	61.2	38.4	0.4	(219)
	Not ascertained				(25)
Middle	Eisenhower	72.6	25.8	1.6	(128)
	Stevenson	67.5*	32.5	—	(77)
	Not ascertained				(10)

\* Difference between the starred groups is significant at the .05 level or beyond.

clerical workers than were those little concerned. The analysis, however, resulted in such small numbers in each category that no evaluation of the significance of these differences could be made.

The preferences and occupations of the respondents' friends showed a close relationship to their perceptions of the different occupational groups. As would be expected, the friends for the most part were reported to prefer the same candidate as the respondent. Seventy per cent of the respondents reported that their friends' preferences were the same as their own; 20 per cent reported their friends as preferring a different candidate; 7 per cent of the respondents did not know their friends' preferences; and for about 3 per cent information about friends was not obtained. No attempt was made to determine from the friends what their preferences had actually been. The fact that friends' preferences are reported to be much like the respondents' could be the result of varying degrees of accuracy in perceiving similarity. Table 6 shows that probably this

similarity was not wholly the result of attributing own attitude to friends. Those for Eisenhower in the working class reported fewer friends supporting their preferred candidate than did those for Stevenson in the working class. It would be expected that there would be fewer people in the working class for Eisenhower. There is probably, however, some perceptual distortion.

In order to examine more closely some of the characteristics of the most and least accurate judges of majority preference of occupational groups, four categories of respondents were distinguished, on the basis of the accuracy of their estimates. In the first group (43 respondents whose perceptions were least accurate) were those who perceived most factory workers as preferring Eisenhower and who perceived most sales and clerical workers as preferring Stevenson. Fourteen persons (or 33 per cent of this group) perceived most professional workers as being for Stevenson. In the second group (178 respondents) were those who perceived most factory workers as preferring

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE WHO REPORT MUCH AND LITTLE CONCERN, BY RESPONDENTS' OBJECTIVE CLASS AND PREFERENCE

Objective Class	Preference	Amount of Concern			Number of Respondents
		Much	Little	Not Ascertained	
Working	Eisenhower	50.3	49.6	—	(123)
	Stevenson	48.9	50.2	1.0	(219)
	Not ascertained				(25)
Middle	Eisenhower	68.0*	32.0	—	(128)
	Stevenson	50.7*	49.3	—	(77)
	Not ascertained				(10)

\* Difference between the starred groups is significant at the .05 level or beyond.



## PERCEIVED CONSENSUS AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES

77

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE WHO HAVE A MAJORITY OF FRIENDS WITH ATTITUDES LIKE AND UNLIKE THEIR OWN, BY RESPONDENTS' OBJECTIVE CLASS AND PREFERENCE

Objective Class	Preference	Friends' Attitudes				Number of Respondents
		Like R's	Unlike R's	Don't Know	Not Ascertained	
Working	Eisenhower	60.2*	25.2	12.2	2.4	(123)
	Stevenson	77.3*	15.5	5.5	1.8	(219)
Middle	Eisenhower	73.5	20.3	3.9	2.2	(128)
	Stevenson	68.9	26.0	3.9	1.3	(77)

\* Difference between the starred groups is significant at the .05 level or beyond.

Eisenhower and most sales workers for Eisenhower. Twenty-one persons (or 12 per cent of this group) perceived most professional workers as being for Stevenson. In the third group (77 respondents) were those who perceived most factory workers as being for Stevenson and most sales workers for Stevenson. Seven persons (or 9 per cent of this group) perceived professional people as being for Stevenson. In the fourth group (the 249 most accurate respondents) were those who perceived most factory workers for Stevenson and most sales workers for Eisenhower. Five persons (or 2 per cent of this group) perceived most professional people as being for Stevenson.

The attitudes and classes of these groups are shown in Table 7. The attitudes of the respondents in Groups 2 and 3 correspond to

what would be expected if they attributed their own attitudes to the different occupational groups. Thus, Group 2 perceived both factory workers and sales workers as being for Eisenhower, and a significantly greater percentage of Group 2 also preferred Eisenhower. Group 3 perceived both occupational groups as being for Stevenson, and a significantly greater percentage of Group 3 also preferred Stevenson. It can also be seen that in both Groups 1 and 2 there is a much greater percentage of Eisenhower supporters in the working class than in the middle class. In these two groups were 35 of the 47 people who perceived professional workers as being for Stevenson. It has already been pointed out that those working class respondents supporting Eisenhower were more inaccurate in the perception of

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF THOSE PREFERRING EISENHOWER AND STEVENSON WHO ARE IN THE MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASSES, CLASSIFIED BY DEGREE OF PERCEIVERS' ACCURACY

Group	Respondent's Preference	Respondent's Objective Class		Number of Respondents
		Per Cent Working	Per Cent Middle	
1 (Least accurate)	Eisenhower	75.0	25.0	(20)
	Stevenson	77.3	22.7	(22)
	Not ascertained	(1)		(1)
2	Eisenhower	60.0	40.0	(95)
	Stevenson	73.6	26.3	(76)
	Not ascertained	(3)	(4)	(7)
3	Eisenhower	50.0	50.0	(16)
	Stevenson	64.0	36.0	(61)
4 (Most accurate)	Eisenhower	33.0	67.0	(109)
	Stevenson	78.2	21.8	(133)
	Not ascertained	(3)	(4)	(7)
Perception not ascertained	Eisenhower	(7)	(4)	(11)
	Stevenson	(3)	(1)	(4)
	Not ascertained	(18)	(2)	(20)

attitudes of all three occupational groups than were those in any other class.

What is of more interest in connection with these groups are the preferences attributed to the best friends who are in the different occupational groups. Table 8 shows the percentage of best friends in each occupational group reported as preferring Eisenhower and Stevenson.

majority of their friends who were professional workers were said to prefer Eisenhower, there were only 11 friends in the group.

In Group II (by whom factory workers were perceived as being for Eisenhower) the friends who were operatives were as likely to be reported for Stevenson (41%) as for Eisenhower (43%). There was also a large

TABLE 8. PERCENTAGE OF FRIENDS IN FOUR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS WHO PREFERRED EISENHOWER AND STEVENSON, BY GROUPS OF PERCEIVERS

Occupation of Friends	Preference of Friends	Group			
		1	2	3	4
Professional	Eisenhower	63.6	74.3	17.6	63.1
	Stevenson	27.3	21.4	82.4	33.4
	Not ascertained	9.2	4.3	—	3.6
	Number	(11)	(70)	(17)	(84)
Clerical	Eisenhower	23.1	62.0	40.0	44.6
	Stevenson	69.2	36.2	60.0	54.0
	Not ascertained	7.7	1.7	—	1.5
	Number	(13)	(58)	(15)	(65)
Sales workers	Eisenhower	50.0	50.0	—	63.6
	Stevenson	50.0	26.9	80.0	18.2
	Not ascertained	—	23.1	20.0	18.2
	Number	(4)	(26)	(5)	(22)
Operatives	Eisenhower	40.9	42.6	8.0	24.6
	Stevenson	52.2	41.4	82.6	72.8
	Not ascertained	6.8	16.0	9.3	2.6
	Number	(44)	(162)	(75)	(231)

It is not possible to evaluate these differences statistically, since they are based on the numbers of best friends. However, the number of friends in the different groups and their preferences correspond rather closely with the respondents' perceptions of the occupational groups involved.

In Group I (by whom factory workers were perceived as being for Eisenhower and sales workers for Stevenson), there were relatively few friends in the clerical and sales groups and the majority of these were said to be for Stevenson. The reported preference of the majority of their friends in the operative group (factory workers) was also reported as being for Stevenson, however. The percentage for Stevenson (52%) is less, though, than the percentage (73%) among the friends of the respondents in Group 4 (accurate perceivers). In Group I there was also a large percentage who perceived professional workers inaccurately. Although the

percentage whose attitudes were not known. In this group were also a number of respondents who perceived professional workers' attitudes inaccurately. A number of their friends were reported to be in the professional group, and 74% preferred Eisenhower.

In Group III (by whom sales workers *et al.* were perceived as being for Stevenson) there were 20 friends reported as in the sales and clerical groups, and the great majority were said to prefer Stevenson. The friends who were professional workers were also reported as tending to prefer Stevenson, but in Group III there was not much inaccurate perception of professional workers' attitudes.

This analysis shows that perception of the attitudes of different groups corresponds quite closely to the attitudes of friends in those groups. There was also evidence that where there were few friends in a particular

group, the attitudes of the group were not likely to be perceived accurately.

The results of this analysis are subject to two interpretations: (1) perception of attitudes of occupational groups is affected by knowledge of the attitudes of best friends in these occupational groups; and (2) attitudes which correspond with the respondents' own attitudes are attributed to best friends and to their own occupational groups.

From the data in this study there is no way of proving conclusively either of these interpretations. Other data show that there was no difference in the amount of communication reported with best friends of either preference. Thus there was the same opportunity for knowing the attitudes of friends reported as having attitudes different from the respondents' as for knowing those of friends reported as having the same attitude. Of course, communication with friends reported as having attitudes different from the respondents' may have been of a different content from communication with friends reported as having similar attitudes. That is, the only times a friend was reported as having a different attitude may have been when the communication with that friend definitely established the friend's preference. Otherwise, the friend was reported as having a similar attitude. This would mean that unless more were known about the kind of communication, the amount of it is irrelevant except insofar as it provides the opportunity for the respondent to know her best friend's attitude. It would also suggest that reports of friends' attitudes are subject to some distortion.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of the study show clearly that perceptions of others' attitudes, particularly of persons in the same occupational class, are related to own attitude. If the attitude is strongly held, it is more likely to be attributed to members of a presumably attractive group than if there is little concern about the issue.

Contrary to one of the initial hypotheses, amount of reported communication about the issue was not found to be directly related to accuracy of perceiving others' attitudes. In the absence of data concerning the accuracy

of such reports, and concerning the content of reported communication, no conclusions can be drawn concerning the applicability of the general hypothesis concerning the effects of frequency of communication upon perceptual accuracy.

In spite of the low level of concern which presumably characterized most respondents for the issue under investigation, variations within the restricted range of concern were closely related to the tendency to attribute own attitudes to members of groups considered attractive. High levels of concern, or affective intensity, seem to operate in multiplicative fashion, enhancing the effects of other determinants of perceived consensus.

It can probably be assumed that within non-primary "groups" like occupational classes, attributions of consensus are more subject to perceptual "distortion" than in face-to-face groups in which information about attitudinal distributions is easier to come by. It is also likely that membership attraction is less strong toward occupation classes than toward most voluntary face-to-face groups. If this is so, perceptual distortion resulting from attraction may not have played a prominent part in this study. Insofar as there is influence from class membership upon attitudes like those here investigated, however, it is likely that such influence is in some degree mediated by the degree and nature of consensus attributed to class members.

In terms of the theoretical basis for this study, it can be concluded that the bases for perceived similarity between own attitude and modal attitude of groups are both "realistic" (i.e., based upon information received via communication) and "autistic" (i.e., based upon desired similarity). The present study makes no attempt to separate "projective" attribution of own attitudes to members of attractive groups and "introjective" acceptance of what are believed by group members, on independent grounds, to be characteristic attitudes of such groups. Its findings are consistent with the assumption, however, that attitudinal homogeneity within occupational classes can be more fully accounted for with an adequate theory of the determinants of perceived consensus than without it.

## THE MINORITY COURSE \*

MORTON B. KING, JR.

University of Mississippi

ON my desk are twelve books, published since 1948. The publisher of each hopes I will adopt it as a text for a course called "Minority Groups." The titles, points of view, and contents vary widely. The most frequently-occurring word is "minority," yet the authors use it with different denotative and connotative meanings. There are also "race relations" and "inter-group relations" and "inter-cultural relations" and sometimes just "human relations"<sup>1</sup>—although that seems a rather broad and ambitious topic for a single course. Some texts describe a long or short list of "groups" and may point out the contributions of each to "our American way of life." The main subject of others is prejudice or discrimination and their effects, often reflecting a neo-Freudian psychology. There are also studies of the Negro in the United States like those of Frazier and Davie.<sup>2</sup> The typical recent text, however, contains larger or smaller amounts from each of several approaches.

The contents and approaches of these texts are disturbing to one who believes that sociology is concerned with the development of empirically-tested generalizations regarding human relationships. A course on "Minority Groups" should present, or attempt to develop, generalizations regarding "minorities."<sup>3</sup> Yet, there is now no "sociology of minorities" in this sense. Nowhere in the "minority" literature can one find a systematic and comprehensive set of sociological generalizations. This lack is not so culpable, for such a set does not now exist.

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1955.

<sup>1</sup> Everett C. Hughes and Helen MacGill Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949; and E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

<sup>3</sup> Jitsuiichi Masuoka and Raytha L. Yokley, "Essential Structural Requisites in Race Relations," *Social Forces*, 33 (October, 1954), p. 30.

What surprises me is the fact that many authors do not seem to miss it. In the texts one finds many facts, most of them interesting and some of value. There are numerous hypotheses and frequent personal opinions, often stated as if they were conclusions. Preachments regarding what, or who, is bad and proposals for reform are quite common. The few tested generalizations present are often hard to recognize and separate from less useful statements.

Anathema need not be pronounced on all, however. As early as 1932, Young sought for generalizations within a sociological frame of reference not used again until Part II of Simpson and Yinger.<sup>4</sup> Among other recent authors who have sought with varying success for some conceptual system are Berry, Marden, McDonagh and Richards, and Walter.<sup>5</sup> However, most of these texts, too, contain a little something for everybody: chapters on what prejudice is and what race isn't, sketches of selected minority groups, advice or proposals on how to solve "these problems." Berry and Marden, in very different ways, have been most successful perhaps in the search for sociological generalizations or uniformities of some kind.

Despite recent improvement, however, the teacher still seeks in vain for an objective, systematic, comprehensive, sustained, *sociological* analysis. A truly sociological ap-

<sup>4</sup> Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples: A Study in Racial and Cultural Conflicts in the United States*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932; and George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953.

<sup>5</sup> Brewton Berry, *Race Relations: The Interactions of Ethnic and Racial Groups*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951; Charles F. Marden, *Minorities in American Society*, New York: The American Book Co., 1952, esp. chapters 2 and 16; Edward C. McDonagh and Eugene S. Richards, *Ethnic Relations in the United States*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953; Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., *Race and Culture Relations*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952.



proach to minority phenomena has been delayed, I believe, by two conditions. First, we have been preoccupied with "problems" and "what to do about them." Our zeal to change the way things now are (if only in the minds of our students) has led us to pass by the less interesting and more difficult tasks required for the slow building of research-sharpened concepts and empirically-tested generalizations. Yet just these tools are required for understanding and controlling behavior, whether or not it is "problem behavior."<sup>6</sup> Secondly, sociological theory has lacked a conceptual position from which these phenomena can successfully be approached. It has been, and still is, difficult even to delimit a workable area for study.

If we would construct a "sociology of minorities," we must, therefore, do two things: approach our data with objectivity and develop a conceptual framework which is at once sociological and apt. The remainder of this paper gives my ideas on where to look and what to look for if we wish to perceive minority phenomena accurately and analyse them meaningfully. These ideas are not wholly original and are obviously hypotheses which require testing by use, both in research and in the classroom.

Prejudice and discrimination are not useful concepts for defining a sociology course, or field of research.<sup>7</sup> Prejudice is a social psychological idea, which has tended to become psychiatric. Both prejudice and discrimination have value loadings which discourage objectivity. More important for our purpose, however, is the fact that persons are prejudiced against others, and discriminate against them, in many ways and for a variety of reasons which have nothing to do with "minorities."

To focus on groups of some kind certainly seems more sociological. It is deceptively simple, however, to define a minority group merely as one which is numerically smaller than another or to say that "It is

certainly incontrovertible that two men can force one man to do what they want, and that ten men can do it even more easily. Given the same social organization, the larger number can always control the smaller. . . ."<sup>8</sup> One need only note that in Tunica County, Mississippi, Negroes compose 80 per cent of the population, or that in any county the school board is smaller than the number of teachers it controls, to be reminded that in the real world of adult interaction "social organization" is rarely if ever "the same." The effect of size, including small size, on the interaction within and between groups is a valid and important sociological concern.<sup>9</sup> It is not, however, what students of "minorities" have traditionally been interested in.

A group or category whose members differ from others of the same society in nationality, in culture, or in observable physical traits has been a favorite unit for study. The trouble is that the members of such groupings may or may not behave as or be treated as "minorities," depending upon the presence or absence of other factors.<sup>10</sup> While the descriptive study of such groups has developed the useful and interesting sketches found in Brown and Roucek<sup>11</sup> and other texts, it has produced few if any tested generalizations regarding the relationships among members of different groups.

Relationships, not groups, should be the focus of attention. The concept "relationship" has some operational utility and represents the distinctively sociological level of analysis. Our task is, then, to define a particular kind of relationship, which may

<sup>8</sup> Robert Bierstedt, "The Sociology of Majorities," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (December, 1948), pp. 709-710. The quotation obscures the fact that the total import of Bierstedt's article is not greatly different from that of this paragraph.

<sup>9</sup> Kurt H. Wolff, "Quantitative Aspects of the Group," Part II of *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950.

<sup>10</sup> Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 190.

<sup>11</sup> Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph S. Roucek, "Majority-Minority Relations in their Power Aspects," *Abstracts of Papers* (Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting), New York: American Sociological Society, 1954, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> Hughes and Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

be called (with several reservations) the minority-dominant relationship.<sup>12</sup>

Two characteristics of the relationship seem obvious: is is one between persons of unequal social power, who consequently have unequal access to the opportunities and rewards of the society.<sup>13</sup> If social power is defined broadly as the ability to control the behaviors of others,<sup>14</sup> then it is likely that there is some inequality of power in every relationship.<sup>15</sup> In the minority-dominant relationship, however, the difference in social power is both marked and institutionalized,<sup>16</sup> being rooted in fairly rigid social structures. However, the relationship between the President of the United States and any or all sociologists, or between the head football coach and his "scholarship boys," is also one of marked and institutionalized difference in social power.

The source of the difference in power provides another characteristic of the relationship. The difference arises because the individuals belong to categories<sup>17</sup> between the members of which there is a certain culturally-determined pattern of reciprocal

attitudes. The attitudes impute superiority to members of one category and inferiority to members of the other; and they assign roles which give members of the one more power and better access to the opportunities and rewards of the society than are available to members of the other.<sup>18</sup>

But, you say, does not this describe class behavior also? And I answer that it does indeed.

It is my position that the new and growing "sociology of power" provides the general conceptual orientation for the study of minority phenomena.<sup>19</sup> The power aspect of stratification is recognized, although prestige is commonly stressed.<sup>20</sup> The two should be distinguished,<sup>21</sup> and emphasis on the power aspect should prove fruitful for the study of the minority-dominant relationship.<sup>22</sup> Stratification, viewed as structured or institutionalized power, is found in the relationships within all groups<sup>23</sup> as well

<sup>12</sup> Masuoka and Yokley, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35; and Francis, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223.

<sup>13</sup> R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1949, p. 7; and Roucek, *loc. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 181 (where, however, the reference is to *Klasse* rather than *Stand*); Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96; MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 108; and Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 94, 95, and "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (June, 1942), p. 316. For other useful discussions of stratification see Cuber and Kenkel, *op. cit.*, Parts I and III; Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*; A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, "Social Stratification and Class Structure," Part IV of *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947; Harold F. Kaufman, *et al.*, "The Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Social Stratification in Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, 18 (March, 1953), pp. 12-24; and Harold W. Pfautz and Otis D. Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 205-215.

<sup>21</sup> Bierstedt, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 731; and Pfautz and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>22</sup> Few attempts have been made to measure differences in power, but such measurement should prove possible. See Goldhamer and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Kaufman, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 14; and Cuber and Kenkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-316.

<sup>23</sup> Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 101; and Richard T. Morris, "Social Stratification," in Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, *Sociology*, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1955, p. 167.

<sup>12</sup> Berry, *op. cit.*, p. x; Hughes and Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-160; and Marden, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, especially page 26. The word "minority," with its numerical connotation, has long been inappropriate for this use and should be replaced; but with what? See Young, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

<sup>13</sup> Ernest T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Structures: A Study in Principles of Sociology*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 633.

<sup>14</sup> Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (editors), *Class, Status and Power*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, p. 95; Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 87; and John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, *Social Stratification in the United States*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954, p. 8. See also Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (December, 1950), pp. 730-738; and Herbert Goldhamer and Edward A. Shils, "Types of Power and Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45 (September, 1939), pp. 171-182.

<sup>15</sup> Bierstedt, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 730; and MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>17</sup> Hiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-206, 599-601; Hughes and Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101; and E. K. Francis, "Minority Groups—A Revision of Concepts," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 2 (September, 1951), p. 221.

as in relationships between persons who belong to different categories and groups. Minority-dominant relations may be viewed as one kind of stratified relationship,<sup>24</sup> a subhead under inter-class relationships.

Minority-dominant relationships may be distinguished from other inter-class relationships by two main criteria. First, the relationship springs from membership in the kind of categories called groups: "real" social groups whose members have a definite sense of belonging and well-developed "we-they" feelings.<sup>25</sup> Secondly, the groups are distinguished by real or alleged differences in observable physical traits, in culture, or in both.

Physical and cultural differences do not, of themselves, create minority-dominant relationships. The differences are important as pegs upon which to hang culturally-entrenched stereotypes.<sup>26</sup> The pattern of reciprocal attitudes which is a central feature of the minority-dominant relationship has four aspects: the attitudes of dominant members toward themselves and toward minority persons, and those of minority members toward themselves and toward dominant persons. The defining characteristic, without which the minority-dominant relationship does not exist, is the

imputation by the majority of inherent superiority to themselves and of inherent inferiority to members of the minority group. Minority attitudes are subject to variation, at least four possibilities being readily observed. Minority persons may accept the dominant definition of the situation believing, "Yes, we are different and inferior." Some say, "Yes, we are different, but not inferior; one cannot judge such differences in this way." Perhaps the "official" and most common attitude of minority persons in the United States, is "No, we are not different; we are essentially alike in all important capacities." Finally, they may say, "We are indeed different, and superior."<sup>27</sup>

To summarize, minority-dominant relationships are those which occur within a society between persons who belong to well-defined social groups whose members: (a) differ or are thought to differ in culture or observable physical characteristics; (b) respond to each other in terms of a pattern of culturally-defined reciprocal attitudes imputing inherent superiority to members of one group and inherent inferiority to members of another; and (c) have, because of membership in the groups, unequal access to the sources and instruments of institutionalized power and hence to the opportunities and rewards of the society.

<sup>24</sup> Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 189; Masuoka and Yokley, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32; Hiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 599-617; and Hughes and Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>26</sup> Marden, *op. cit.*, p. 28; and Francis, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 229.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph S. Cotter, Jr., "And What Shall You Say?," a poem in James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Poetry*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931, p. 186.

## MULTIPLE INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE UPPER RIO GRANDE REGION \*

E. K. FRANCIS

University of Notre Dame

THE term "intergroup relations" somehow conjures up the mental image of several organisms interacting with each other on the same plane, and struggling for the pre-eminence or at least preservation of their particular ways of life. Actually, an ethnic group is a segmental social system operating within a large society which has precisely the function of organizing a great variety of groups, including ethnic groups, into a complex unit.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the dominant is not at all of the same order as the ethnic group, and their relationship cannot be explained by differences in culture, power or size alone.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, what is sometimes conceived as one par-

ticular ethnic or culture group may in reality consist of several different sections which are differently related to the large society and occupy different positions in its structure. By analyzing a particular case, this paper draws attention to some factors which must be taken into account in any attempt to describe adequately the relationship of an ethnic group to the large society. The dynamic nature of such relations makes a rapid, even crude, summary of the ethnic history of the Upper Rio Grande Region the most appropriate approach to our problem.

As is well known, the area had been inhabited by several communities of Pueblo Indians before it was conquered and colonized by the Spaniards. Consequently, the originally separate native societies were integrated into a social system which was an extension of the large society of colonial Spain. The intergroup relations were based upon force and domination, but involved also more intimate interactions. First, there was the common need of defense against an external enemy, the Plains Indians. Second, the economy favored exchange and a certain division of labor. Still more crucial was the fact that the Spaniards imposed upon the native folk groups an heterogeneous institutional framework which, nevertheless, left them considerable freedom to manage their internal affairs. This institutional framework extended primarily to the political, military, and economic sphere. The Spaniards also occupied all the Strategic positions in the emerging regional society in which a total social system of Spanish design, the large society, was combined with several localized folk societies or ethnic groups. Finally, the Christianization of the Indians made them equal members of a religious system which formed an integral part of Spanish society. It implied a sharing of important values and co-operation in very decisive activities, such as religious ceremonies. Still more

\* Revised version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1955, and based on research sponsored by the University of Notre Dame and supported by grants of the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>1</sup> As a rule, the term "ethnic group" is used in a very narrow sense which also colors the current sociological meaning of "intergroup relations." Both refer to politically and socially dependent groups and tend to exclude from sociological consideration the relations between independent ethnic groups or people studied more commonly by historians, political scientists and ethnologists. It would be good sociological theory if both kinds of intergroup relations were viewed systematically as two species of the same genus rather than as separate compartments to be dealt with by different learned disciplines.

Sociologists have vaguely applied the term "large society" to the "obvious" but undefined residue of a modern nation after it has been divested of all those particular institutions, associations, subgroups, classes, minorities, and so on, with which contemporary members of the profession are mostly concerned. Despite its shortcomings, the term is accepted because it does not imply a commitment to any particular type of total society.

<sup>2</sup> The term "dominant," instead of the conventional but misleading phrase "dominant group," has been adopted from Charles F. Marden, *Minorities in American Society*, New York: American Book Company, 1952, p. 29.

Sociologically speaking a "minority" may actually be larger than the "majority."



significant, intermarriage was not only made possible but actually enforced by the church where sexual contact could not be avoided.<sup>3</sup>

On the eve of the American conquest the social structure consisted of a thin layer of upper-class Spaniards, a broad peasant substratum of Spanish colonial culture and mixed racial origin, and several semi-autonomous communities of Pueblo Indians, while the Plains Indians remained outside the pale. There had also existed since the 1820's a little colony of foreigners who mingled freely with the natives. The position of these *Americanos*,<sup>4</sup> soon to be strengthened through further immigration, was changed radically when the army of occupation entrusted them with the key positions of civil administration. Yet the new situation was not really characterized by either culture conflict or the co-existence of two separate and distinctive social bodies. For the *Americanos* continued to participate directly in the indigenous Hispano society, although, because of their newly won influence and prestige, they now associated primarily with the native upper class with whom they intermarried to a considerable degree. The new upper class was, if anything, more Spanish-Mexican than Anglo-American. The decisive shift occurred rather on the institutional level. It was above all a question of who had the power to interpret and enforce the rules of the game, mainly in the economic, political and legal sphere, and who selected and controlled the personnel for all strategic

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of brevity the very interesting case of the *Genizaros* must be disregarded. These Christianized and Hispanized descendants of captives from among the various tribes of Plains Indians have been completely absorbed by the Hispano ethnic group. To them several Spanish places in New Mexico owe their origin, e.g. Abiquiu, Belen or San Miguel. The Mexican interlude (1821-1846) is also passed over. But this changed little if anything in the intergroup relations of New Mexico itself except that during these years a local variety of Spanish colonial society was developed which, due to political anomosity and lack of communication, became more and more distinct from the parent society.

<sup>4</sup> The Spanish words have been retained because they seem less ambiguous than their often cumbersome English equivalents. The more recent word for "*Americanos*" is "*Anglos*" to signify that New Mexico's Hispanos, too, are Americans.

positions in the territory. The number of *Anglos* was small, their inner coherence vague and their cultural contributions indifferent, but their direct and indirect power was real. Moreover, they functioned as representatives of the large society upon which the *Hispanos* now depended, and which had the final word in all controversial matters. It was this relationship which transformed New Mexico's native people into an ethnic group or minority. In passing we might mention that the Pueblo Indians at first continued to identify themselves with the old order, but that they gradually drifted away from the Hispano-dominated society into Anglo-American tutelage.

Almost a full generation later, intergroup relations changed again when a mighty stream of immigrants from all walks of life entered the Territory. While united administratively, the country was thereby divided sociologically into two sections, the Old Spanish Core and the New Settlement.<sup>5</sup> In the former the Hispano society remained largely intact, and so did the relations to the large society and to its local representatives which had developed in the early days of the occupation. The other section, however, was first effectively occupied by Americans and became indistinguishable from the rest of America. It was largely dominated by the *Texanos* who to the *Hispanos* appeared almost as another race; they were enemies and intruders while the *Anglos* in their own midst constituted a component of the indigenous society. Of course, the case is oversimplified to stress a real difference. The *Hispanos*, on the other hand, who migrated from the Old Core into the New Settlement found themselves in quite a different posi-

<sup>5</sup> The Old Core includes the Rio Grande valley between Socorro and Taos with later contiguous expansions into the Chama, Pecos, Mora and Puerco valleys as well as the original sections of several towns now predominantly Anglo-Saxon like Albuquerque or Las Vegas. The Doña Ana area near El Paso, Texas, has been omitted from these considerations because of its peculiar history. What has been called here the New Settlement includes the rest of New Mexico and all the more recent towns and cities. Some of it appears more as an extension of Texas than a part of the Upper Rio Grande Region with which it is united administratively in the State of New Mexico; it is, in fact, locally referred to as "Little Texas."

tion which resembled much more that which was, for instance, typical of the French Canadians crossing the border to New England. In order to distinguish between these two types of intergroup relations the term "primary" and "derivative" minority groups are used.<sup>6</sup> The former applies to situations like the one found in New Mexico's Old Core; the latter describes conditions as they prevail in most other parts of the United States. At one time, this cleavage was clearly reflected in the economy of New Mexico. The small farms in the irrigated valleys and on the more humid mountain slopes were occupied by Hispanos who also held a monopoly over sheep grazing. Cattle ranching and dry farming, however, were the domain of Texans and other "Americans," who included many readily assimilated foreigners from overseas. Less complete yet clearly perceptible was the separation in other branches of the regional economy where the upper ranks were heavily weighted in favor of the Anglos, while Hispanos were found, often in large numbers, among the lower ranks and unskilled labor.

Today the division between Old Core and New Settlement has become blurred inasmuch as the Hispano society itself is being transformed from a primary into a derivative ethnic group, to a large extent because migratory labor, military service, mass communications and education<sup>7</sup> have tended to increase interaction with the dominant. Because education followed the pattern of the large society, its area of institutional dominance was vastly increased and affected a more sensitive sphere of the minority culture than could be reached by politics, economy or law. While mere accommodation sufficed before, the dominant now aimed at cultural homogeneity which involved the remodelling of the minority after its own image. Political and economic domination was replaced by cultural imperialism.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. K. Francis, "Variables in the Formation of So-Called 'Minority Groups,'" *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (July, 1954), pp. 6-14.

<sup>7</sup> The term "education," as used here, refers not only to the public school, always a powerful agent of assimilation, but also to many activities of churches and voluntary associations.

Under its impact the social structure has changed again. The old upper class has been reduced to near insignificance. Superior wealth, power and prestige now reside outside the region. Simultaneously, the regional class structure has become a replica of the American class structure. The center of gravity and group conflict is now in the middle class which includes a far greater proportion of Anglos. Middle-class occupations offer much fewer opportunities to Hispanos, whose principal social elevators are confined to politics and education. American middle class standards of cultural uniformity are fully operative. They find their familiar expression in racial prejudice and discrimination. But there are also real cultural differences which handicap the Hispanos: they simply do not possess the qualifications recognized as conditions for social acceptance and advancement. The broad substratum of society is composed mainly of Hispano, and in part Indian, peasants and laborers. Locally, the old Hispano social system still functions, but it has been deprived of its natural élite and economic base without which it cannot maintain its closure and independence.<sup>8</sup> Hispanos strive now as individuals to improve their lot within the framework of American society. They resent the blocks which prevent them from equal participation and from rising in social status, but they accept as valid the conditions under which social advancement is possible in this country.

The acceptance of American social definitions is also demonstrated by the effort of the Hispanos to differentiate themselves from the Mexicans, that is, more recent immigrants from Mexico, in order to escape the treatment accorded to foreigners and "colored" races. There is also much less co-operation between Hispanos and Indians than before. The sense of a common destiny has disappeared which once had united Pueblo Indians and Hispano peasants under the leadership of the Hispano upper class

<sup>8</sup> Today most Hispanos do not see any particular value in the preservation of their own society and culture; at any rate they do not see any realistic hope for it.

and the native clergy<sup>9</sup> against the American aggressors. The two groups keep well apart from each other. The Indians, who have come under the influence of American schools and other means of cultural diffusion, now deal directly with the large society and its agents. There is some advantage in being classified as an Indian rather than a Spanish-American or Mexican. The Hispanos, on the other hand, have accepted the American color scheme and find a sense of superiority and a certain protection against discrimination in their European cultural and racial heritage. The distinction between Texanos and Anglos can still be recognized. The former are apt to define their relations with the Hispanos in the racial terms of the South. This is felt as an embarrassment by the Anglos who are more ready to look upon the Hispanos as just another Old World culture group to be integrated into the American melting pot. The complexity of intergroup relations in the Upper Rio Grande Region is further increased through the presence of smaller yet locally important Old World ethnic groups such as the Jews and Syrians. Because of their greater linguistic, religious and cultural affinity to the Hispanos, the Italians, French and French Canadians appear ethnically ambivalent. Another complication is introduced by the great variety of Indian folk societies which had to be neglected in this short paper.<sup>10</sup>

The foregoing sketch seems to indicate that in the analysis of inter-group relations it is not sufficient to treat the dominant and the ethnic groups as social systems func-

tioning separately on the same level, or to stress differences in their cultural heritage. This relationship is more significantly determined by the institutional framework within which all the components of an ethnically mixed society must operate. It is heteronomous to the minority but not to the dominant. Attention must be paid not only to the degrees of heteronomy and cultural differences. It is equally important to know which spheres of ethnic group life are, partially or wholly, regulated by the large society and its organs. Other significant factors include the control of strategic positions in a regional society as well as the class position of the representatives of the large society with whom ethnics interact most frequently and directly.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that in a complex society the conditions and problems of different parts of one and the same ethnic group may vary greatly according to their position in the total social structure, both vertically and horizontally. Among the factors which favor disorganization of so-called primary ethnic groups are shifts in size and power as well as increasing communication and interaction. But above all the dislocation is due to the extension of the institutional framework, which the large society imposes upon the ethnic group, to ever wider and more sensitive spheres of social and personal life. Once disorganized, a primary ethnic group need not disappear through the successful assimilation of its members. It may persist in the modified form of a derivative ethnic group which is characterized by quite different behavior patterns. No longer does such a group possess an inner coherence and a group solidarity which is able to resist the cultural and social pressures of the large society and which is often strong enough to absorb its local representatives. A derivative ethnic group is rather determined by social categorizations and definitions adopted from the large society, and by the qualifications required from individuals for direct participation in its various strata.

<sup>9</sup> The role of the Mexican clergy in this struggle and their displacement through foreign, primarily French, missionaries is treated by the author in an as yet unpublished essay "Padre Martinez: A New-Mexican Myth."

<sup>10</sup> A book-length presentation is now being prepared in order to do justice to the actual multiplicity of ethnic relations in the Upper Rio Grande Region, under the tentative title: *Die spanischen Bergbauern im neumexikanischen Oberland: Das Schicksal einer amerikanischen Minderheit.*

## COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



### COMMENT ON LESSA'S REVIEW

#### *To the Editor:*

Dr. Lessa completely misunderstood my book. (See the *Review*, October, 1955, p. 613.)

1. My universe of discourse is the range of phenomena, and in that respect my data are complete, since they are derived from 400 individually incomplete sets of data, whose gaps are not due to systematic error and whose range is furthermore *a priori* limited by biological realities. (p. viii and passim) Hence, I found (p. 85) that a survey of 70 additional tribes added almost no new nuances to an earlier typology based on 330 tribes.

2. The cultural context of a trait is irrelevant in typologies, trait lists, and distribution maps.

3. Context admittedly does matter in the theoretical section. I, therefore, stated rather clearly (p. 4) that in that section I used only data whose context I understood.

4. A typology cannot be called "useless" unless one also calls trait lists useless; the two are the same thing. Both can guide field workers, etc. In addition, my study of the range of phenomena required the establishment of a typology.

5. Dr. Lessa contradicts himself when he concedes that the tabulation of 50 traits for 400 tribes "may have future usefulness" while maintaining that "the data are too meager to bother with."

6. The tabulation, being a summary of the source book, cannot "here lack relevancy." In addition, it proves the claim that the data were not statistically analyzable.

My methodology, which Dr. Lessa ridicules without describing it, and which he may have confused with the nineteenth-century comparative method, is quite simple. (a) I tried to develop a method for exploiting large sets of individually fragmentary data, whose gaps are not due to systematic error. (b) I deem it psychologically significant, and a proof of the psychic unity of mankind, that e.g. so weird an idea as the retraction of the penis into the abdomen has been reported from South China, Indonesia, the Mohave, Germany, and the U.S.A. (pp. 86-7). (c) I deem it both culturally and psychologically significant that said idea can appear as a standard belief (South China, Indonesia), as a standard joke about transvestites (Mohave), as a manipulation per-

formed by a psychotic (Germany), and as a dream incident (U. S. A.). (d) I hold that the various manifestations of the same idea cast light upon each other and upon the idea itself and also illuminate basic differences between the cultures in question. (e) My belief that studies in depth can yield data and conclusions comparable to studies in breadth is based on the finding that the free associations of American analysts to a given topic often specifically correspond to attitudes, beliefs, customs, etc. related to that topic in a variety of cultures; and on the observation that the functional study of the contextual ramifications of a custom in a given culture usually discloses secondary implications which, in other cultures, are the primary implications of that custom. E.g., the Mohave primarily openly cherish and secondarily secretly despise and dread twins, while in other areas the dread of twins is the primary attitude. (f) I suggest that what appears as a custom in tribe X may appear in tribe Y as a myth, or as a neurotic fantasy, etc. . . . and vice versa. Thus, on the basis of a Mohave pregnancy taboo I inferred that in some other tribe women may procure abortion by violating a pregnancy taboo for which the penalty is miscarriage and eventually located perfectly unequivocal Maori data on this point. (p. 41) I also cite (p. 144) another such verified prediction. The possibility of making such predictions increases the plausibility of a new method or theory. (g) The plausibility of a theory or method is also increased if two investigators, the one studying Western data sociologically and in depth, and the other primitive data psychoanalytically and in breadth, reach similar conclusions. Thus, after the book was published I found that Kingsley Davis had specifically compared the sociodynamic disturbances created by illegitimate and incestuous children, while I had inferred that illegitimate children (and not only compulsorily aborted ones, as Dr. Lessa implies) may be fantasied as incestuous ones. (h) The preposterous sounding conclusions cited by Dr. Lessa are preposterous simply because the unconscious happens to think preposterously, as anyone who ever had a dream can attest. Yet such preposterous notions do influence our conscious thoughts and actions. Besides, any complex conclusion can be made to seem preposterous by citing them without the



proof. Anyone doubting this need only quote to the intelligent layman such scientific theories as: "A line an inch long contains as many points as a line a mile long," or explain to him the Fitzgerald-Lorentz contraction of moving bodies.

I will ignore several minor errors of fact, such as the allegation that the source book "summarizes" data, when in reality more than 99 per cent of the texts are cited in extenso. More serious is Dr. Lessa's obvious unfamiliarity with the literature, which impelled him to state that Euroamerican society was studied "not in terms of abortion but of psychoanalysis."

It is regrettable that, having disqualified Freud and Durkheim because they did no field work, Dr. Lessa, who did no clinical work, did not, by the same token, disqualify himself as a reviewer of a book on psychoanalytic anthropology, because it is to be feared that when he eventually learns something about psychodynamics, his review will become a source of considerable embarrassment to him.

Devon, Pa.

GEORGE DEVEREUX

#### COMMENT ON THE REVIEW OF THE TALLADEGA STORY

To the Editor:

Referring to the review of *The Talladega Story: A Study in Community Process* (in the *Review*, June, 1955, pp. 361-362) I would like to add that the reviewer should have pointed out that the book covers adequately only one part of the citizenry of Talladega. Since the purpose of the research was to provide the community with information concerning local health conditions, it is regrettable that so few data were gained, especially about those citizens among whom the health needs are the greatest. It is apparent from the report of the study that one of the reasons accounting for this deficiency was stated to be the lack of co-operation between the research team and Talladega College. It is to be hoped that in an eventual extension or in undertaking of a similar project there will be a positive relationship between the research team and the College.

JIRI KOLAJA

Talladega College

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



### OBITUARIES

The *Review* records with regret the deaths of:

#### Rees Higgs Bowen

Dr. Bowen died in Lindsborg, Kansas, February, 1955. He retired from the Department of Sociology, Dartmouth College, in 1952.

#### Harold D. McDowell

Harold D. McDowell, sociological intern in the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine and lecturer in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. His program of research was sponsored by an internship grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, and he was engaged in research on social factors in patient treatment or management. Professor McDowell collected a large number of case studies and unpublished materials which are available to persons undertaking similar research.

#### Elbert Vaughan Wills

Elbert Vaughan Wills of Gatesville, North Carolina, on September 6. He received the doctorate from New York University in 1923. In 1945 he retired as Chief of Standards Division, Procurement Division, U. S. Treasury Department.

#### Robert Cloutman Dexter

Robert Cloutman Dexter, former Executive Director of the Unitarian Service Committee and refugee attache to the U. S. Minister in Lisbon during the war, died in Belmont, Massachusetts, on October 11, 1955, at the age of sixty-eight.

Dr. Dexter received his A.B. in 1912 and his Masters Degree in 1917 from Brown University, and the Ph.D. in Sociology from Clark University in 1923.

From 1923 to 1927 he was Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Skidmore College. In 1927 he was appointed Social and Foreign Relations Secretary for the American Unitarian Association where he served until his appointment as Executive

Director of the Unitarian Service Committee in 1940.

Dr. Dexter is survived by his widow, Elisabeth Anthony Dexter; a son, Lewis A. Dexter, who is also a sociologist; and a daughter, Mrs. Phillip W. Pennington.

#### Augustus W. Hayes, 1884-1955

A. W. Hayes died on July 10, 1955, after a long illness. He was born in Illinois in 1884, received a bachelor's degree from the State University in 1907, and a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin in 1920. He then became a member of the Sociology staff at Tulane University where he remained for five years. After two brief interim appointments, he went to Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia, where he remained until retirement in 1949. Under his leadership the department of Sociology grew from a one to a five person staff and courses on the graduate level were introduced.

Dr. Hayes was very active in local, state, and regional social welfare organizations, frequently having been chosen to fill high official positions. For two years he was dean of Arts and Sciences but preferred teaching.

His major publications are: *Rural Community Organization* (1921), *Some Factors in Town and Country Relationships* (1922), and *Rural Sociology* (1929). After retirement from Marshall, Dr. Hayes taught for one year at Illinois Wesleyan University. His wife and two children survive him.

#### Norman D. Humphrey, 1911-1955

Norman D. Humphrey, Professor of Sociology, Wayne University, died of chronic nephritis on October 30, 1955. Born in Detroit in 1911, he received his B.A. (Anthropology) 1935, M.A. (Anthropology) 1938, M.S.W. 1940, and Ph.D. (Sociology) 1943 from the University of Michigan. While at Michigan, he was strongly influenced by the anthropological theories of Leslie White. Starting as an instructor at Wayne in 1939, Dr. Humphrey was a full professor in the

Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the time of his death. He was a visiting professor during summer sessions at the University of Texas, 1944, University of Southern California, 1947, Michigan State College, 1948 and 1950. During 1950 he taught at the Escuela Normal Superior in Bogota, Colombia, and in 1952 he was a lecturer at Mexico City College.

His interest in the acculturation of the Mexican in the Detroit area, the subject of his doctoral dissertation, was followed by a University of Michigan postdoctoral fellowship for field work in Tecolotlan, Mexico, in 1944-45 and a summer grant from the Viking Fund for further study there in 1947. During 1952 Dr. Humphrey, under a grant from the Social Science Research Council, made a study in the larger Mexican cities of Mexican professionals who had received training in the United States. On the basis of this interest, he had published some fifty articles largely in the field of acculturation and race relations. He collaborated with Alfred M. Lee on *Race Riot*, a work dealing with the 1943 Detroit race riots.

Forged in the depression decade in Detroit where he was employed as a factory laborer and later as a social worker, Dr. Humphrey was a leader in social action groups interested in the welfare of the laborer and migrant Negro. In his classes Dr. Humphrey always "raised the question" as a true scholar. "Raising the question" as a departmental member, he firmly entrenched himself as the loyal opposition. While suffering acutely he taught his classes until the week of his death. Watching the students passing on the campus the last day he attended classes, he turned and said to me, "How healthy and wonderful they are, and how good it is to be a teacher!"

DONALD C. MARSH

Wayne University



**District of Columbia Sociological Society.**

Officers for the year 1955-56 are: President, John A. Clausen, National Institute of Mental Health; Vice President, Margaret T. Cussler, University of Maryland; and Secretary, Denis F. Johnston, Howard University.

**Eastern Sociological Society.** The Annual Meeting will be held March 24 and 25 at the Hotel

New Yorker, New York City. Sessions and their chairmen will include: "Sociology of the Professions," Donald R. Young; "Academic Freedom," Robert M. MacIver; "The Suburban Community," Nathan L. Whetten; and "Social Theory," Talcott Parsons.

**Midwest Sociological Society.** Officers for the year 1955-56 are: President, Harold Saunders; Vice President, Paul Campisi; Secretary-Treasurer, Marvin J. Taves; Editor, Paul Meadows; Managing Editor, Richard Videbeck; and Chairman of Research Committee, George M. Bial. State representatives are: Alan Bates, Seth Russel, Thomas McPartland, Marshall Clinard, Elio D. Monachesi, H. T. Muzumdar, Arthur Hillman, Claude Arnett, and Clement Minhanovick.

The annual meeting of the society will be held at the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City, Missouri, April 12 to 14.

**Rural Sociological Society.** Officers for the year 1955-56 are: President, Margaret Jarman Hagood, United States Department of Agriculture; President-elect, Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; Vice President, Homer L. Hitt, Louisiana State University; Secretary-Treasurer, Ward W. Bauder, University of Illinois; Member of Executive Committee at Large, Samuel W. Blizzard, Pennsylvania State University; Representative to Council of American Sociological Society, William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin; and Chairmen of Standing Committees: Teaching, Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; Research, J. Allan Beegle, Michigan State University; and Extension, Harold E. Smith, Union College, Ohio.

**Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.**

Officers of the society are: President, Richard V. McCann, Harvard University; Vice President, Werner Wolff, Bard; Secretary, Walter Houston Clark, Hartford Seminary; Jacqueline Y. Sutton, Princeton, New Jersey; Members of the Council: James Luther Adams, University of Chicago; P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University; J. Paul William, Mt. Holyoke College.

The spring meeting is to be held in New York City on April 21 on "The Ministry as a Profession." There will be room on the program for a few unsolicited papers, preferably though not necessarily on this theme. Three copies of an abstract of not more than 300 words should be sent to Charles Y. Glock, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, New York 27, before March 15.

**Southwestern Sociological Society.**

Officers of the society for the year 1955-56 are as follows: President, Sandor Kovacs; Vice-president, Walter Firey; Secretary-Treasurer, Hiram Friedsam; Sociology Editor of *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Donald Stewart; Executive Committee Members, R. H. Bolyard, Kenneth Evans, Sigurd Johansen.

The 1956 meetings will be held in San Antonio, Texas, on March 30-31.

**Wells Organizations, Chicago.** Myron F. Lewis, formerly at American University and lecturer in the U.S.D.A. Graduate School, has been appointed Director of Research.

**Adelphi College.** Else Kris has been named Research Scientist in Social Psychiatry by the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene.

Harry Posman, candidate for the Ph.D. at Columbia University, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

**University of Alabama.** David De Jarnette, Director of Moundville State Park, has been appointed lecturer in sociology and anthropology.

Three members of the faculty have received University grants for research on problems of sociological and anthropological interest: Henry L. Andrews to develop Alabama life tables and reviews of fertility and mortality in Alabama; John R. Galloway of the Department of Art to develop a monograph on prehistoric art in the Southeast; and Harold L. Titus, member of the Department of Linguistics doing graduate work in sociology and anthropology, to codify comment in legal journals of Canada and the United States on the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 and 1955 decisions on segregation in the public schools.

**Boston University, School of Theology.** Herbert E. Stotts, formerly Head of Department of Sociology of Religion, Iliff School of Theology, has joined the faculty.

**Carleton College.** Russell L. Langworthy has been promoted to assistant Professor.

Dave M. Okada, Assistant Professor, is in Japan on a Fulbright grant.

Ray Paul Cuzzort, formerly a Ford Fellow at the University of Minnesota, has been appointed Instructor.

Samuel M. Strong, Chairman, was on leave of absence during the second semester of 1954-55, engaged in a project dealing with types of adjustment to old age in a Minnesota college town.

**Dartmouth College.** The title of the Department of Sociology was changed in October, 1954 to "Department of Sociology and Anthropology."

Joseph Berger was appointed Instructor in the Department of Sociology in the fall of 1954.

Robert Gutman was promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor of Sociology in July, 1954.

George F. Theriault is director of a research project investigating nursing functions in New Hampshire, one of a series of such studies being conducted throughout the country under the sponsorship of the American Nurses Association and State Nurses Associations.

**Duke University.** Edgar T. Thompson has been named Hugh le May Fellow for 1956 at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, Union of South Africa. Professor Thompson leaves with his family in February and will return to Duke in mid-September.

**Emory University.** Charles D. McGlamery was awarded a 1955 Summer Fellowship by the Foundation for Economic Education which supported his study of an industrial plant in operation. He was a visiting member of the University of Alabama faculty in the first half of the summer.

Richard H. Klemmer, Wesleyan College, was a visiting member of the faculty, summer 1955.

Helmuth Schoeck has been appointed to the faculty of the Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts, an interdisciplinary program of advanced studies leading to the Ph.D. degree. Admission to this program may be granted students who have completed one year of graduate work in sociology, or in other areas of the social sciences or humanities.

**Florida State University.** Charles M. Grigg of Brown University has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. He will direct the Center for Social Research and teach courses in research methods and social statistics.

During August Lewis M. Killian served as consultant to the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council, preparing a monograph on "Problems of Field Studies of Disaster."

Lewis M. Killian and John L. Haer are currently conducting a study in Tallahassee of the attitudes of leaders and the public towards school desegregation. Grants for this project have been received from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and the Florida State University Research Council.

M. F. Nimkoff led the Fifth Annual Marriage and Family Life Study tour, sponsored by the National Council on Family Relations, to the Near East during the summer of 1955. In August he taught at the University of Southern California.

William F. Ogburn, who has been Visiting Professor the past two years, will be in residence the first semester 1955-56 and 1956-57.

**The University of Houston.** Clyde Vedder, formerly with the University of Florida, has joined the staff as Associate Professor of Sociology.

Everett D. Dyer has rejoined the staff as Assistant Professor of Sociology after leave of absence at the University of Wisconsin where he received his Ph.D. in 1955.

**State University of Iowa.** David Gold has returned to the department after a year's leave of absence as a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He is engaged in an inter-institutional and interdisciplinary research project on "Lawyers in Politics."

Manford H. Kuhn has been awarded a Graduate College research professorship for the fall semester, 1955-56.

Thomas D. Eliot, Professor Emeritus of Northwestern University, is serving as Visiting Professor during the first semester.

Frederick B. Waisanen, who served as Visiting Assistant Professor during the absence of David Gold, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of North Dakota.



Jean B. Tompkins has been appointed an Instructor in the department, teaching basic courses in the family area.

Carl J. Couch, who received his doctoral degree in June, accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Montana State College.

Robert L. Stewart also received the doctoral degree in June and accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Central Michigan State College.

Harold A. Mulford, who received the doctorate at the June convocation, has returned to his position at Northwest Missouri State College.

Harold W. Saunders was re-elected President of the Iowa Council on Family Relations. During the summer he continued his research on the occupational adjustment of Mesquakie Indian industrial employees at Tama, Iowa.

Robert G. Caldwell has been appointed official consultant on correctional policies and practices of the Iowa State Board of Control.

Lloyd H. Rogler has joined the staff as an instructor in the introductory course. He was previously employed as a research assistant with the Human Resources Research Office. Walter S. Corrie, previously on the staff of Marshall College, and Carl E. Waisanen, formerly of Westminster College, were reappointed as instructors in the elementary course.

**Kent State University.** James E. Fleming has been appointed Visiting Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University for the academic year, 1955-1956.

V. Dewey Annakin, Professor of Sociology at Indiana State Teachers College, has been appointed Visiting Professor of Sociology for the academic year, 1955-1956, replacing Fleming.

Oscar Ritchie has resumed his teaching in the department after a leave of two quarters as Assistant Director of a study of Ohio's facilities for dealing with juvenile delinquents, conducted at Ohio State University.

**University of Kentucky.** Howard W. Beers, Head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, is on leave in Paris on a six-month's assignment with the European Productivity Agency, Office of European Economic Cooperation. During his absence, A. Lee Coleman is Acting Head of the two departments.

Ralph Spielman, recently at the University of Michigan and Wellesley College, is Visiting Lecturer in Sociology.

John C. Ball, who received his doctorate from Vanderbilt University, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology.

C. Milton Coughenour will transfer from the University of Missouri in February as Associate Rural Sociologist.

C. Arnold Anderson, Professor of Sociology, is at the Institute of Sociology, University of Uppsala under a Fulbright appointment. Anderson spent last year at the University of Lund.

James S. Brown, Associate Professor of Rural

Sociology, is completing his Fulbright assignment in Bonn.

C. Paul Marsh, Assistant Rural Sociologist, has resigned to join the staff of North Carolina State College.

Paul Richardson has been appointed director of an adult education and service center being set up on the campus of the former Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Miss.

Sidney J. Kaplan has been promoted to Assistant Professor.

**Louisiana State University.** Rudolf Heberle has been designated Boyd Professor.

Roland J. Pellegrin was recently promoted to Associate Professor of Sociology.

The Louisiana Commission on Higher Education has contracted with Paul H. Price, Marion B. Smith, and Roland J. Pellegrin to conduct research projects on the needs of higher education in the state. Price is to do research on the relationship of population to higher education, Smith is to analyze adult extension services, and Pellegrin is to do a study in leadership.

Alvin L. Bertrand has been employed as research consultant by the Louisiana State Department of Education to assist in the evaluation of the Practical Nurse Education Program in the state. This study is supported in part by a grant from the Kellogg Foundation.

**University of Massachusetts.** Margaret Wilson, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Mt. Holyoke College, has been appointed Visiting Lecturer for the fall semester.

Mary E. Weber Goss has been appointed part-time instructor.

Arthur Jordan Field has resigned as Instructor in Sociology to resume his Doctoral program at Columbia University.

**University of Miami.** Lowell Julliard Carr, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan, is Visiting Professor of Sociology.

Bryce Ryan has been appointed Chairman of the Departments of Sociology and Anthropology.

**College of Notre Dame of Maryland.** Sister Maria Mercedes, S.S.N.D., Chairman of the Department of Sociology, has introduced a new course, School and Community.

Margaret Mary Toole has returned to the department as Associate Professor of Sociology and Personnel Director.

**The Ohio State University.** James Fleming of Kent State University has been appointed Visiting Professor, replacing John Cuber, who is on a year's leave of absence.

Roscoe Hinkle of the University of Rochester has been appointed Assistant Professor and assumed the duties of Kurt Wolff who is spending the year at Harvard on a Fund for the Advancement of Education Fellowship.

Alfred Schnur, formerly of the University of Mississippi, has been added to the staff in the

area of criminology at the rank of Assistant Professor.

Robert Bullock was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor, and Robert Stuckert was appointed Instructor.

Raymond F. Sletto has been elected President of the Sociological Research Association.

Brewton Berry has been appointed a member of the Governor's Committee on Refugee Relief of the State of Ohio.

New or continuing research grants have recently been received by eleven members of the Department. The School-Community Development Study, supported by W. K. Kellogg Foundation funds, is sponsoring a project by Robert Bullock on "The Development of Scales for Use in the Analysis of Community Dimensions of Importance to School Administrators"; one by Christen Jonassen on "The Development of Objective Measures of Critical Community Dimensions and A Community Typology"; one by Russell Dynes on educational changes in Pike County, the center of the Ohio Atomic Area; and another by Melvin Seeman on "Mobility and Leadership Style."

John Bennett and Iwao Ishino are continuing their research on "Japanese Social Relations," and Erika Bourguignon has undertaken a study of the bilingual individual with special reference to the problems of acculturation.

Melvin Seeman is doing a study of the "Social Roles of the Intellectual." The Graduate School has provided the funds for these three studies.

Alfred Clarke and Russell Dynes have received a grant from the University Advisory Committee for a Study on "The Social Correlates of Marital and Sex Roles."

A. R. Mangus and Edward Z. Dager are doing a follow-up study of the mental health and adjustment of students in Miami County, Ohio under Development Fund auspices. The same Fund is supporting a pilot project by Walter Reckless and Simon Dinitz on "Children Who are Insulated Against Delinquency."

Russell Dynes is nearing completion of a study of the mobile construction workers and their families in the Ohio Atomic Area for the Ohio and National Council of Churches. Warren James is working on an investigation of "The Professions: A Study of Occupational Categorization," which is being financed, in part, by the Ohio State University Bureau of Business Research.

Albert Quade, who received his Ph.D. last spring, has been appointed Assistant Professor at Florida State University.

Benjamin Pasamanick, formerly Associate Professor, Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene, has been appointed Professor of Psychiatry, College of Medicine, and Director of Research at the Columbus State Psychiatric Institute.

**Park College.** Erwin Rubington, formerly research associate with Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

**Paul Quinn College.** Ju Shu Pan has accepted

an appointment as Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of Sociology.

**Stetson University.** James A. Sartain has been appointed as Assistant Professor of Sociology. He received his B.S. degree from the Alabama State Teachers College and his M.A. degree from George Peabody College for Teachers.

**State College of Washington.** Paul Honigsheim will be Visiting Lecturer in Sociology the second semester, 1955-56.

Milton A. Maxwell has been serving on the State Advisory Committee to study the problems of alcoholism and to recommend a program of research, rehabilitation, and education for the State of Washington.

William M. Masters of the University of Michigan has been appointed Instructor in Anthropology. He has returned from a Horace A. Rackham Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Turkey.

Paul H. Landis has returned from a sabbatical leave during which he traveled around the world studying population, migration, and family patterns. Landis has given up his connection with Rural Sociology and is now State Professor of Sociology.

T. H. Kennedy resumed his duties as Associate Dean, College of Sciences and Arts, and Professor of Sociology, after returning from sabbatical leave which was spent largely in South Africa studying race and related problems.

John D. Lillywhite has returned from Chicago, where he spent a year on a Ford Foundation Fellowship at the Institute for Juvenile Research and the University of Chicago.

Allan H. Smith, Professor of Anthropology, has returned from work as Staff Anthropologist on the Advisory Board of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, Honolulu.

Murray A. Straus, who has been serving on an "acting" basis in the Department of Rural Sociology, has been appointed Assistant Rural Sociologist.

**Wayne University.** Stephen Cappannari has returned from Italy where he was a Fulbright Research Scholar. During the present academic year the following members of the department are on leave on similar scholarships in Italy: Victor A. Rapport (Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Professor of Sociology), Leonard W. Moss, and Harry Josselson (Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and cooperating member of the Sociology Department).

Frank Hartung and Gabriel Lasker have returned to the department from visiting professorships at the University of Wisconsin. Hartung has been promoted to Associate Professor of Sociology.

Joseph W. Eaton is in his third year on a leave of absence with the Russell Sage Foundation project at The Western Reserve School of Applied Social Science.

H. Warren Dunham has been awarded the Leo M. Franklin Memorial Lectureship in Human Relations for the present year. He will present a

lecture series on "The City: Problems and Prospects of Human Relations in the Urban Environment."

Harold L. Sheppard is presently engaged in a study of psychiatric aides at the Lapeer State Hospital, under an \$8,000 grant provided by the Michigan State Department of Mental Health.

Carol Ballingall has joined the staff for the academic year after having spent two years in a field study of aboriginal villages in New Ireland.

**Western Reserve University.** Professor Emeritus Charles E. Gehlke retired in July 1955.

Marvin B. Sussman has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. He is planning re-

search projects in the community and urban fields and, with a grant from the Social Science Research Council, is working on some problems of in-law relationships.

Richard A. Schermerhorn, together with colleagues in the fields of psychology and psychiatry, is collaborating with Sussman in planning a project on the psycho-social adjustment of post-parental couples.

Newbell N. Puckett, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, is making a state-wide survey of superstitions known to residents of Ohio. A printed check-list of Ohio beliefs is available to interested persons without charge.

## BOOK REVIEWS



### *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process.*

By TALCOTT PARSONS and ROBERT F. BALES in collaboration with JAMES OLDS, MORRIS ZELDITCH, JR., and PHILIP E. SLATER. Glen-  
coe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xvii, 422 pp. \$6.00.

This is a collection of papers from the pens of five collaborators representing the sociological, psychological, and anthropological disciplines. Parsons is most prominent, being sole author of the first three chapters (nearly half the book) and senior author of another two (an additional quarter of the book). In these, especially, the going is tough. They are written in what now seems to be a Parsonian tradition—involved sentences, cumbersome terminology, and an almost exclusive concern for conceptualization. Perhaps some of this is inevitable in dealing with formulations on high levels of abstraction. It is the reviewer's opinion, nevertheless, that the writing here is unnecessarily difficult and many of the meanings are needlessly obscure.

Primary attention is given to "system building" at the theoretical level. The book can best be considered as another addition to a series of recent publications by Parsons and collaborators on their "general theory of action." Acquaintance with these earlier works is implicitly assumed as background for the present volume. Though "family" is the first word in the title, the reader soon comes to realize that major concern is not with family phenomena as such, but with how these illuminate general and universal processes of action. The title, therefore, may be slightly misleading.

While at the same time declaring their broader theoretical interests, the authors say: "In its empirical aspect we regard this volume, more than anything else, as a study in the sociology of the American family" (p. viii). It is true that the theoretical discussions have focused upon the role structure and the interactional and socialization processes within the American nuclear family. This system has been conceptualized in considerable detail. But *empirical* analysis is almost entirely limited to Chapter 5 (Bales and Slater) dealing with role differentiation in small non-familial groups, and Chapter 6 (Zelditch) dealing with cross-cultural aspects of family structure. Neither of these, however, treats the American family as such.

The reviewer found these empirical chapters

to be the most exciting and rewarding (revealing his bias for quantitative research), and he wishes they had been placed nearer the beginning of the book and had been made more central in the analysis. Bales and Slater reported many interesting findings from their study of small male student groups at Harvard, and the presumption was that these generalizations would hold for all small group systems, including the nuclear family. Though this claim needs further testing, the work as it stands is highly suggestive of new possibilities in family research; since the nuclear family is a small group, there is much that family sociologists can learn from the methods and insights of small group analysts. Zelditch used available ethnographic reports on 56 cultures to test for uniformities in role differentiation in the nuclear family. He found, as hypothesized, that the nuclear family in all cultures tends to differentiate the instrumental leadership and expressive leadership roles, with the adult male adhering to the former and the adult female to the latter. This, along with the above-cited work of Bales and Slater, is used to argue for an underlying uniformity in small group systems. The nuclear family, in other words, is viewed as a special case from a more general system; its structure is regarded as having generic significance.

If this be true, then of course one can make deductions for the American family from empirical studies of other groups. But to do so without rigorous empirical testing of the consequences of this basic assumption is only to produce a series of intriguing speculations. Though many of the book's generalizations concerning the American family are of this order, they can, and should, be put to use as hypotheses for future research.

Central in such postulations is the belief that family interaction leads inevitably to a series of progressive role differentiations following a principle called "binary fission." According to this principle, the simple and original internalized object-system known as "mother-child identity" first differentiates into a two role "mother-child love-attachment system" (the child becomes an object to himself); then into a four role system where there is a "you," a "me," a "we," and a "non-we"; and so on and on in a series of systems that become progressively more complex. Added to earlier



concepts concerning the internalization of social objects, supplied by Durkheim, Freud, Mead, *et.al.*, are the concepts that *systems* of objects are internalized, differentiated by binary fission, and organized into "continuously articulated series" pp. 55-56).

The authors challenge the frequently heard claim that the American family has lost its useful social functions and is in a state of absolute disorganization. They argue, instead, that it is merely in a process of differentiation leading to greater specialization, that its functions, though fewer, are as socially useful as formerly, and that it is moving in the direction of a newer stability, this time as a *nuclear* family.

We have hardly done justice to the book during the course of this brief review. It is full of ideas and insights, though these are frequently obscured by stilted language and the reader is required to work hard to pull them out. It focuses upon one specialized aspect of family phenomena—that of role differentiation—which it treats in a highly abstract manner. But for the serious graduate and post-graduate student its reading should prove profitable.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

Purdue University

*Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction.*

Edited by A. PAUL HARE, EDGAR F. BORGATTA, and ROBERT F. BALES. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. xv, 666 pp. \$6.50.

This book is, on the whole, a disappointment. My judgement is arrived at reluctantly: I do not count myself among those who, in rather cavalier fashion, dismiss small group research as being inherently incapable of dealing with the traditional concerns of sociology. Nor have I been overly impressed by the essentially negative view of some sociologists of knowledge—those who, for example, interpret the popularity of small group research as a sign of withdrawal, in a time of pressure, from politically relevant and dangerous topics to those which are antiseptic and safe. These disclaimers are necessary, it seems to me, as a way of clearing the ground for appraisal of what is likely to be a debatable volume.

The book is divided into four parts: the first of these is titled "Historical and Theoretical Background"; Part II focuses on "The Individual in Social Situations"; Part III, which takes generally the viewpoint of the observer (rather than that of the acting subject as in Part II) is titled "The Group as a System of Social Interaction"; there is, finally, an anno-

tated bibliography including 584 titles; and a topical index to the bibliography. Each of the four parts is preceded by a brief introduction by the editors.

Obviously, with this varied and extensive content, there is much useful material here and it is handy to have it collected for ready reference. But beyond that, the book disappoints because it does not present a balanced view of small group research, and will not, therefore, challenge the mind and advance the field in the way that, I take it, the editors intend that it should. This is, admittedly, a difficult task for any compendium of readings, but it can be done (and the Bendix-Lipset reader in stratification is a closer approximation).

The editors provide little in the way of integrative comment, and do not describe at any length their criteria for inclusion. In this circumstance, a review of the book is essentially an effort to evaluate the editors' selections against a more or less personal model of what such a book should be. Without making that model an impossible ideal (e.g. accepting space limitations, and the like), the book misses the mark on the following counts.

1. Though the preface acknowledges a need to reflect "the developmental history of the field," that history is not kept in focus. In the empirical work of Parts II and III, all but three of the 35 selections carry publication dates in the 1950's. The overwhelming sense of "modernity" that this encourages is furthered by the fact that the selections themselves are little concerned with history and typically cite references which are recent American. The balance is not redressed, I feel, in the two sections on early theory and research. There are, for example, only 19 pages devoted to the four early theorists in chapter I. A further consequence of the lack of historical perspective is that the decade of the 1940's is underplayed as far as empirical contribution is concerned (for example, the pioneer work of Hyman, from which much of the current interest in "reference groups" stems, is not included).

2. Even granting the fact that the upsurge of interest in the study of small groups has been recent, the book does not give a catholic view of the approaches which are possible in such investigation. Though Bales, Cattell, and Launor Carter come out all right, they might have been better offset by the representatives of other views (both of method and substance): the work of Asch, Deutsch, Hemphill and Westie, Thelen, Sherif, and others (e.g., those embodying game theory), though not ignored in the bibliography, is conspicuously absent in

the readings. There are, by contrast, six papers (in whole or part) by Bales; and some of the contributors cited above might well have been substituted with considerable gain in comprehensiveness and no essential loss.

3. Coupled with this selectivity of view, there is a disquieting selectivity of subjects. It would not be literally true, but figuratively so, to say that all we have, in the basic Parts II and III, is the study of the interaction of (paid or unpaid) undergraduate students. For some purposes, this may make no difference; but for many who are interested in industry, in race relations, in bureaucracy or community organization, there will be little challenge in what can be done with a temporary group of student volunteers. Concretely, it seems to me that greater effort might have been made to reveal both the wider range or situations in which the small group approach is relevant, and the greater complexity of organization that can be studied by this method (as, for example, in the studies by Guetzkow where semi-permanent "companies" were formed to transact business).

4. None of the papers is critical in nature; the student will have to go elsewhere to find out what is being said *about* the small group field rather than what is being done *in* it; and, particularly, to discover what the lines of agreement and disagreement are on the proposition that small group work constitutes "the study of the generic social process on the microscopic level." (p. vi.). No text, or readings, can do the teacher's analytic job, but it can help him considerably more in this than these readings do.

5. There is a set of inter-related criticisms, for which a rubric is difficult to state and which cannot be detailed here. Let us call it "the limited view of substance." This view shows up in varied forms: First, it is evident in the fact that the bulk of the empirical studies emphasize group *process*, rather than the *content* of what is interacted about. Second, though the preface states that the virtue of small group research is that "one stands some chance of 'getting all the way around' a small group" (p. v.), apparently "all the way around" rarely means getting intensive personality data, interview material on the meaning of events, or information on the ideological bases of behavior. Third, the selections too often show much concern for interaction in the raw (or in the low level hypothesis), and relatively little concern for conceptual clarification (for example, of the meaning of "interaction" itself). Another way to say this is that it is too often easy to agree with one of the contributors when he remarks that "in a sense these experiments

demonstrate the obvious." (p. 422). Few will deny that the obvious sometimes turns out on investigation to be the erroneous; but this, in itself, establishes no special virtue for such studies.

The editors themselves are surely not responsible for all of these faults: the failings are in some measure typical of any field which has had a rapid growth and which has depended heavily on new research techniques. Nor do I wish to leave the impression that the book is not worthy of considerable study. There are good papers and intriguing leads—for example, Festinger's "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes"; or Bales' work on the equilibrium problem. It should be clear, too, that disappointment is a consequence of high hopes; and I still have such hope, undiminished, for the small group field. Some of the grounds for that hope are in this volume; and if the book occasions, at the same time, a serious review of the grounds for disappointment, it can be an important vehicle in furthering the aims of small group research.

MELVIN SEEMAN

*The Ohio State University*

*The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole.* By ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. 182 pp. \$4.00.

Prof. Redfield's new book approaches a treatise on the higher strategy of ethnological method, but it is also a demonstration of his conviction that the study of the small community constitutes an operation quite distinct from research on the heterogeneous society. He feels that the small, self-contained community is a natural whole, a living entity which commands understanding as such; this creates "a certain strain or struggle, so to speak, between the claims of the human whole—person or village or civilization—to communicate to us its nature as a whole . . . and the disposition of science to take things apart and move toward the precise description of relationships between parts and parts." The book therefore hovers between these very fundamental problems in the philosophy of method and the dimensions of life in the small community, and the contributions to both subjects are impressive, if necessarily incomplete.

The dominant mood of the book is introspective and retrospective: Redfield is concerned with presenting "forms of thought," or "concepts . . . guiding the investigator's choice and arrangement of facts," and these are developed as products of personal intellectual and research

experience and the diagnosed experience of others. Prof. Redfield offers his ideas in the spirit of reflection, not as formalistic criticism or the construction of a "position," and while this is expressed in what may be the most flexible style possessed by any social science writer of the day, it also creates a book which is almost as necessary to review in literary as in scientific terms.

As noted, Dr. Redfield contrasts scientific analysis with holistic synthesis. The former comprises functional portrayals of customs, groups, institutions, systems, treated as parts. Holistic synthesis concerns a different order of phenomena: systems and perhaps institutions are present, but beyond these the synthesizer becomes concerned with differing *conceptions* of the "whole": overall social structure, ecology, biography, personality, ethos, world view—presented either statically or historically. Among these various conceptions of the whole, Redfield finds differences in: the scope of the defined whole; "element of reality" emphasized; viewpoint or perspective of the observer; model (organismic, logical schema, artistic, etc.); and degree of recognition of relations with the external world. The six principle chapters of the book are arranged so as to present each conception of the whole in turn, establishing concepts—"forms of thought"—for its exposition. The final chapters deal with history, the whole as related to the outside, and the problem of polar and contrasting definitions of the whole.

Unity is given this very broad treatment by a running consideration of a fundamental methodological problem, which begins with Redfield's conception of the "whole." Thus, the whole community may be denoted by a physical-social boundary, but much more importantly, he conceives of it in the realm of perspective. A "whole" is what the observer makes it—a construct—but this must always be based on the "inside" view: the behavior of the community residents. It is here that the cultural anthropologist emerges: the point at which self-conscious identification with the view of life and customs of the subject becomes vital to the research enterprise. Here the student must "liberate" himself from the "self-denying ordinances of science" to the extent of utilizing his own perspectives in the comprehension and analysis of behavior.

This contains a "dilemma": to attain understanding, to utilize one's self in that attainment, is to create a problem of translation of the untranslatable. How can the meaning of community wholeness, as seen by the insider, be communicated to the outsider?—for the tools

and language of science or objective description so frequently tear the whole into shreds, or at least falsify the nuance. This is the "dilemma," in Redfield's view, of holism; it may be added that it is as well a more cogent problem for the anthropologist than for the sociologist or "behavior scientist," who, as Redfield indicates, usually stands at a greater distance from his human subjects.

His solution to the dilemma is a familiar one. The "effect of personal influences" must somehow be reduced. Self-awareness is recommended: "a controlled conversation, a dialectic of opposites, carried on within one's self" is suggested as the route to resolution of the difficulties. Consequently Redfield feels that the study of wholes, or perhaps anthropology more than sociology, occupies a position in the "borderland between science and art." While the sociologist has vented much spleen on this, turning it into an accusation, Redfield explicitly approves. It is in this area where the failures of communication between anthropology and sociology have been most nakedly exposed in recent years. Redfield's admirable exposition of this and related issues—regardless of his own position—should do much to improve mutual understanding.

The logic of Prof. Redfield's presentation is rooted in his polar distinction between scientific analysis and holistic synthesis: if one disagrees with this distinction then much of the book will appear confused and unnecessary. Contrasting views might suggest that the distinction is not polar at all, but merely one of differing levels of generality: holism in this sense becomes the highest level of generalization constructed out of the data. If this is so, goes the argument, then scientific analysis must always precede holistic synthesis—hence the two are part of a total operation and why polarize them? Redfield, in his illuminating discussions of the whole as personality and world view, makes it fairly clear that wholes of this sort are usually built up out of analytical operations; moreover, the author takes no dogmatic stand on this matter—he seems quite willing to admit the intimate relations of the analytic and synthetic operations.

A related criticism might stress the possible significance of the subject matter. Is the small, homogeneous community simply more readily studied as a whole than are the larger, heterogeneous societies? Since the latter are the preoccupation of Redfield's "behavior scientists," is it not possible that "scientific analysis" is not simply a personal predilection but merely the demands of the subject matter? Would not a holistic analysis of a city, a



civilization by necessity be approached through analytical procedures?

In sum, is "analysis" a proper definition of science? All science is holistic since it aims at the portrayal of entities, and the tradition of structural-functional theory, to which Redfield pays considerable respect, certainly aims at holistic construction, in which the segments of the social process are conceptually transformable into one another (vide Parsons, especially).

But one comes to feel that Prof. Redfield's reasons for contrasting science with holism lie in other spheres. It may be a way of asserting his belief that while science has often rejected humanity in its quest of rigor, at least some forms of holism retain a burning interest in the details and contradictions of life as it is lived and *experienced*. Thus the introjection of sympathy into the monochromatic portraits of Society and Process is made by the grasp of human qualities, by a realization of the cussedness and pathos of man. Or in his own final words, "Understanding, and her apotheosis, wisdom, are the true gods within the temple; science is not, she is only a handmaiden, and serves with many others." To this the reviewer can only say 'amen.'

JOHN W. BENNETT

*The Ohio State University*

*Village India: Studies in the Little Community.* Edited by McKIM MARRIOTT. Papers by ALAN R. BEALS, BERNARD S. COHN, E. KATHLEEN GOUGH, OSCAR LEWIS, DAVID G. MANDELBAUM, McKIM MARRIOTT, M. N. SRINIVAS, GITEL P. STEED. Foreword by ROBERT REDFIELD and MILTON SINGER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, xix, 269 pp. \$4.50. Also distributed by the American Anthropological Association as Vol. 57, No. 3, Part 2, Memoir 83, June, 1955.

This is an exciting book—in its design, its contents and its theoretical implications.

The volume represents the integrated efforts of a number of people to approach a theoretical problem. Redfield and Singer organized a seminar on the "Comparison of Cultures: The Indian Village" to which were brought seven anthropologists, each of whom presented a paper based on field research in an Indian village. The participants, who had collected their data with other problems in view, were asked to look afresh at their materials in light of the "dual problem raised by the extension of anthropological methods of holistic analysis to villages in India's complex civilization. . . . How relevant are such holistic methods of analysis for studies of villages in India? And if village

studies make use of such holistic methods of analysis, then what relevance do these studies have for understanding problems which concern all of India?" (p. xvii). Srinivas, who did not attend the seminar, prepared his contribution in the same vein. The unity of the book has been maximized by the deft hand of a competent editor, McKim Marriott.

The contributions of the various reports are summarized in the Foreword and again in the paper by Mandelbaum. The present summary will be minimal. The authors raise serious doubts as to the appropriateness of the "holistic approach," based on the assumption that the little community is a self-contained isolate, for studying the villages of India. The village is seen as being isolable as a social structure but not isolated from the larger social system in which it is embedded and, furthermore, that the village is undergoing continuous change.

Srinivas depicts the social system of a village as a patterned fluidity in which caste rankings are rearranged, new occupations followed and realigned with old, old traditions abandoned and new ways initiated. Gough describes a village in which kinship and caste ties are being replaced by the organizing principles of economic class. Cohn concentrates largely on the ways in which an "untouchable" caste is attempting to change its position within a social system which itself is undergoing change. Tracing through a century and a half of village history, Beals analyzes the impact on and consequences for a village of such "external" factors as governmental and economic forces, urban and Western patterns of life, and population changes. The focus in Steed's paper is on the relevance for personality formation of the changing structure of village life.

Lewis compares the culture and social structure of an Indian and a Mexican village. The basic contrasts between the two are seen not as being uniquenesses of the villages but as being contrasts between the larger civilizational systems in which the communities are found. Marriott develops a series of concepts to handle the relationships between the "little tradition" of the village and the "great tradition" of Indian civilization. The paper by Mandelbaum is organized around the concept "world view," "the ways in which a person of the group typically sees himself in relation to his world." Using data from a tribal group and relevant material from the other seven papers, he makes generalizations about the over-all nature of Indian civilization.

What are some of the implications of the book? Redefinition of the little community's nature results in attention being focused on



somewhat different dimensions of village life than are found in many anthropological reports of "total" small cultures. One is impressed with the notable lack of preoccupation with the cultural details of rites of passage, buildings, dress, food, implements, etc. The emphasis is upon how a village is organized and related to the larger world and how social processes operate. Theories based on social structure and process have a different order of generalizability than do theories based on culture traits. To understand social change in Indian or in any other civilization and to analyze the contribution of the little community to social change, it is not enough to record all the unique customs of every subsection of the population—even if it were possible. Rather it is necessary to develop concepts which enable us to understand how men organize and change their social life. This book is a significant step in this direction.

For those interested in studying social change not as "forces," nor as evolutionary steps, nor as points on a continuum, but as processes of decision making, this book is especially rewarding. A few of the authors make explicit formulations within this framework and others present considerable materials which can be so conceptualized. For example, the adaptation by lower castes of the practices of higher castes can be viewed as a series of decisions by caste and village members who are desirous of maintaining or improving their life chances.

One of the geniuses of the book is that it sets off trains of thought in the mind of the reader as to further ways in which the content could be conceptualized. I, for example, because of its implications for social change, wish the authors had dealt more explicitly with the social structure of Hinduism, although I hasten to add that it is implicit throughout the book. It would be interesting to observe if in the "modernization" of India, the social structure of religion, which has been almost synonymous with village structure, will take on aspects characteristic of such urban institutions as the marketplace, education or government and if there will be a change towards emphasizing religious beliefs in contrast to emphasizing, as has been true in the past, religious practices for maintaining position within the caste and village.

The significance of the book is broader than its title would indicate.

RUTH HILL USEEM

*Michigan State University*

*Childhood in Contemporary Cultures.* Edited by MARGARET MEAD and MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xi, 473 pp. \$7.50.

Not the least interesting thing about this book is the fact that it is based on research supported by the United States Navy through the Human Resources Division of the Office of Naval Research. Comparative studies of child rearing were made as part of a program of research in contemporary cultures. It is a selection of these studies that forms the bulk of the present volume.

The book contains 26 articles by 14 authors. There are eight sections, beginning with a set of three articles that lay a theoretical basis for the comparative study of childhood. Then follow sections on: Observational Studies; Child-Rearing Literature; Fantasies For and About Children; Children's Imaginative Productions; Interviews with Parents and Children; Clinical Studies; and an Epilogue with two interesting essays on "Implications of Insight" by Martha Wolfenstein and Margaret Mead respectively. Martha Wolfenstein has contributed at least one article to each section after the first.

Essentially the book is a set of examples of ways of studying children which should be useful to people who are themselves planning research on cultural aspects of child development. While it does not include all the ways of studying personality development in culture, it contains enough novel and interesting methods to stimulate and stretch the mind of any researcher.

It is this mind-stretching quality of the book which makes it particularly valuable. Every study of child-rearing in the next few years which makes any claim to being a contribution to our knowledge of cultural factors in personality formation will probably be influenced in its planning by this book. The book will give more scope to the methods used in future studies, more consideration of a variety of approaches.

The book is not a comparative study of childhood. It does not make systematic comparisons of childhood in various cultures, using similar methods to secure comparable data on several societies. The closest approach to this is Martha Wolfenstein's comparison of the portrayal of children in contemporary films from Italy, France, England, and the United States. But mainly there are examples of methods applied to a single society, which might be applied systematically to the comparison of several societies.

The section on Fantasies For and About

Children is perhaps the most interesting and least conclusive. Here are discussions of children's books, fairy tales, books about the family, and films about children. A brief review of *Hsi-Yu-Chi*, or "Monkey," *A Chinese Children's Classic*, makes the reader resolve to read this amazing book. But how can one draw reliable and valid conclusions from this kind of material about the attitudes of parents and teachers toward children, how widely such attitudes are shared in a given society, and how children are influenced by exposure to these stories and films? If the book had contained an interpretation of the influence of comic books on American children, how much disagreement might have resulted among informed people, no matter what the interpretation was?

The book perhaps necessarily stresses the common elements in a society rather than the differences. For example, in reading the three articles by Rhoda Métraux on child rearing in Germany one gets the implication that there is a certain "German" way of regarding children and bringing them up. This may be true in the sense that more Germans than Frenchmen display the "German" pattern, but it is difficult to believe that there is a thoroughgoing and pervasive "German" pattern held by Black Forest peasants, Hamburg dock workers, and Berlin lawyers. Perhaps the Black Forest peasants are more like the French farmers across the Rhine, and the Hamburg dock workers more like those of Antwerp, than the Black Forest Germans like the Hamburg Germans.

It might have been useful if there had been a set of articles presenting the differences in child-rearing within some modern complex society. For instance, some analysis might be given of the different programs of child-rearing prescribed to Americans who read Gesell, who read Spock, or who read the booklets put out by the Roman Catholic Church.

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

*The University of Chicago*

*The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: A Study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Government Agencies.* By PETER M. BLAU. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xi, 269 pp. \$5.00.

In this volume, Peter M. Blau explores a seldom investigated area—the activities of lower officialdom in a bureaucratic setting—to amplify his (and others') proposition that informal "activities and interactions are not simply idiosyncratic deviations but form consistent patterns that are new elements of the organization."

Part I traces the web of operating adjustments which followed the introduction of statistical performance records in a small department of a state employment agency. Part II examines the relations between congenial co-worker relations, informal status, and productive efficiency. Included in this Part is a splendidly detailed chapter on the generation of an informal, work-facilitating pattern, which, currently in violation of departmental rules, may be profitably viewed as indicative of organizational development, i.e., structural change in process. Yet another chapter furnishes an illuminating discussion of the nature of authority within a bureaucracy, contributing to the clarification of the nature of constraint and consent in this setting, as well as to the needed distinction between the development of patterns of conformance in bureaucracies and in spontaneous groupings. In Part III, Blau summarizes his data as they bear on certain more general problems of change in bureaucratic structures.

The major theoretical effort of the work is found in Part III. Stated in dispute of Michels, Blau holds that bureaucracy does not necessarily engender opposition to change, but does so only under certain conditions which need specification. Blau specifies status insecurity in important work relationships as a factor producing resistance to change, and civil service arrangements, among other conditions, as potentially modifying this insecurity.

This reviewer would suggest that Blau needlessly "opposes" Michels. The latter was interested in the bureaucratic elements of *voluntary* organizations, while Blau is not; Michels dealt primarily with leader-member relations, while Blau is dealing predominantly with superior-subordinate relations within a bureaucracy. Further, an available interpretation of Michels is that he was pointing to the inherent *tendencies* of hierarchical structure, the italicized term as well as "inherent" to be emphasized, thus suggesting counter-forces to be investigated. Blau himself sees status insecurity as an ever potential product of hierarchical relationships, thus "inherent" in bureaucracy, and in effect confines himself to suggesting counter-forces, even if these are labeled "prerequisites of adjustive development." (They are: employment security, professionalization, established work groups, the absence of basic conflict between work group and management, and organizational needs that are experienced as disturbing by responsible officials.) None of *these*, indeed, seems "inherent" to bureaucracy; all seem potential limiters of the development of self-serving leadership in certain situations,

somewhat like plural power centers in political organizations. They are conditions to be achieved, given certain values, in light of Michels' insights. Finally, the concept of "change" would itself seem to bear further examination. Michels, too, was interested in "change"; specifically, operating adjustments which, easing bureaucratic dilemma, led to subversion of institutional missions. It is not entirely clear that certain of the "changes" noted by Blau did not have this same effect. However this last may be, it would seem to this reviewer that valuable insight is lost where dramatized statement ("the iron law of oligarchy") induces only counter-drama ("the opposite hypothesis").

This volume is a well-documented and provocative addition to the growing store of work in the post-Weber tradition, concentrating on the dynamic interrelations of bureaucratic pressures, informal practices, and formal structure. The reviewer appreciates Blau's use of statistics where possible to reinforce and clarify conclusions suggested by participant observation and documentary perusal, and profoundly agrees with the developmental emphasis throughout. He is disappointed, however, that the author did not choose to discuss in more detail the policy consequences of day to day adjustive processes. For example, how emphasis on production, as a response to industry and legislative pressures, led employment agency leadership to abandon worker counselling goals, or how violator resistance led enforcement agency officials to support legislation for compulsory (vs. voluntary) compliance. While recognizing the author's right (in fact, duty) to limit his area of inquiry, hints throughout the volume make for the hope that further material probing these policy problems will be forthcoming.

SHELDON L. MESSINGER

Princeton University

*Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining.* Edited by CLINTON S. GOLDEN and VIRGINIA D. PARKER for the CIP Committee of the National Planning Association. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xiv, 368 pp. \$4.75.

This book brings together in a single volume the thirteen individual case studies and a final summarizing pamphlet that had previously been published by the National Planning Association. A committee of that association, under the chairmanship of Clinton S. Golden, planned this series of studies to discover the causes of industrial peace. Each of the individual thirteen studies was done by a group of competent

researchers who undertook to study actual situations in which industrial peace had been a characteristic feature of the union-management relationship. Each individual study sought its own answers for the causes of industrial peace in the situations studied. There was no overall framework within which the studies fitted.

The summarizing pamphlet, which is here presented as the first part of the book, attempts to summarize in six chapters the knowledge from the thirteen studies. This was admittedly a difficult task, since the individual studies were made from different view points and lack uniformity both as to materials collected and as to theoretical framework used.

One comment on the summary is perhaps in order. Industrial relations specialists have become so habituated to studying conflict on the American scene that there does not yet exist a theoretical framework for the study of stability or industrial peace. Consequently, the summary conclusions tend to be cast in the form of paired opposites. For every cause of industrial peace, the absence of that cause is suggested as being associated with industrial warfare, and vice versa. Most sociologists would probably agree that peace, harmony, and institutionalized social relations result from complex social organization and processes that may not simply be the opposites of similar structures and processes that lead to conflict and disorganization. This is an old issue in sociology and one that is highlighted again in this admirable series of studies. It is perhaps necessary continually to emphasize that social organization and social disorganization are not simply the opposite poles of the same continuum.

For all students of industrial relations this volume is a handy and permanent summary of the outstanding work that the committee on the causes of industrial peace sponsored. This volume will be a permanent addition to the case studies in collective bargaining.

ROBERT DUBIN

University of Oregon

*The NAACP Versus Negro Revolutionary Protest: A Comparative Study of the Effectiveness of Each Movement.* By DANIEL WEBSTER WYNN. New York: Exposition Press, 1955. 115 pp. \$3.50.

Negro protest in the United States can be divided roughly into the unorganized and organized types. The latter has become increasingly significant since the turn of the century, giving formal expression to sentiments which previously took non-direct courses. This is reflected in the emergence of a whole series of specific



protest movements and corresponding ideologies. The relationships among these organizations in some instances have been cooperative; in numerous others, however, they have been highly competitive. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League mirror the cooperation pattern. The competitive pattern is seen in the relationship between the NAACP and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and between the NAACP and the Civil Rights Congress.

The NAACP has emerged as the foremost expression of Negro militant protest; at the same time it has become the major instrument through which tactical fights are waged in the larger battle for equality. The NAACP now has some 400,000 members; it has a strong central organization; large regional offices have been established in recent years; local, day-to-day programs are carried on through more than a thousand local branches. The effectiveness of the NAACP is indicated by its denunciation by anti-Negro whites and by its praise by Negroes generally.

In attaining its present position of racial leadership, the NAACP has had to deal with major crisis situations as well as recurring minor obstacles. Among the big problems it has had to confront—and solve—are those presented by extreme nationalist and communist movements, each seeking with its own ideological and organizational means to obtain a following among the fifteen million Negro Americans.

The above volume seeks to examine the relationship between the NAACP (Thurgood Marshall) which embodies "protest legal action" and such organizations as the Council on African Affairs (Paul Robeson) through which "protest revolutionary antagonism" is carried on. Mr. Wynn also attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of these two movements in securing civil rights for Negroes. In neither case is he particularly successful. While considerable documentation is amassed on the relationship between the two organizations, the final picture is far from clear.

The most notable shortcoming, however, is in the effort to gauge respective contributions to civil rights. The author appears to be completely unaware of numerous indirect consequences which could condition the evaluation of any organizational program. He concludes that the "protest revolutionary antagonism" movement made "no contribution" to the decline in lynching in the southern states. He ignores completely the possibility that the world-wide publicity which this movement gave lynching had certain indirect consequences for public

policy. He does not even speculate that this might have had a bearing on the trend noted. The same observations may be offered with reference to the remaining six criteria which constitute the evaluating instrument. It is unfortunate that this work fails to measure up to its initial promise.

WILSON RECORD

*Sacramento State College*

*The Study of Comparative Government.* By ROY C. MACRIDIS. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. (Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science), 1955. xiii, 77 pp. Ninety-five cents.

The political scientists were not spared by the general tendency toward integration of Social Sciences. Not so long ago, Charles Beard in one of his presidential addresses complained against the over-departmentalization of social sciences. However, during the second half of our century both in sociology and also in political science, a remarkable effort was made to combine an approach of a specialist, with that of a generalist. The attempt of integration of social sciences, which has been already reflected in many undergraduate experimental courses is a visible mark of this tendency.

Professor Macridis' challenging contribution is a result of those tendencies in political science. The fact that his work concerns a specialized field of comparative government, does not change the "integrative" qualities of his contribution. Already in 1944 a committee of the American Political Science Association indicated the need for some methodological re-orientation. Recently, the Social Science Research Council sponsored a summer seminar on comparative politics. We learn from the book the author was one among those who explored the possibilities of a new approach. Professor Macridis follows the recommendations of the seminar and re-examines the old traditional approach to comparative government. He finds the major characteristics of the traditional approach as essentially non-comparative, purely descriptive, parochial, static and essentially monographic. The old approach "is centered upon the description of the formally established institutions of government"; in fact—he argues—it is largely a study of legal instrumentalities.

In contrast to the old traditional approach, he suggests a new one, which he calls a systematic approach. While the former is largely descriptive, the latter is above all an explanatory one. Thus, the frame of reference is advanced which would permit a meaningful comparison



of politics in various societies, while the old traditional approach was largely limited to a comparative study of Western politics. In consequence, Macridis suggests—as a preliminary proposition—a frame of reference based on four major concepts: decision making, power, ideology and political institutions. Whether we study an African community, a recently liberated colonial country or a Western Society, a common scheme like this will illuminate common aspects of political processes of various countries.

In an effort to develop the method, the author successfully applies sociological, anthropological, and psychological concepts. The consequence comes close to a sociological approach, specifically to the field of sociology of politics.

Dr. Macridis has made a real contribution with his tentative methodological proposition, to both political science, and the sociology of politics. Both fields are close and overlapping. His book can be useful as much in political science courses as in sociology. Macridis shifts the emphasis from a static comparison of institutions, to a dynamic comparison of political processes.

FELIKS GROSS

*Brooklyn College*

*Soviet Military Law and Administration.* By HAROLD J. BERMAN and MIROSLAV KERNER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. xiv, 208 pp. \$4.00.

All but a few esoteric specialists may well be content to read the kind of "prologue" and the last chapter of this little study. In the former, the authors present fifteen propositions which they call "hypotheses," but which actually constitute a summary of their findings. In the latter, they discuss the relationship of Soviet military law to civilian life and the role of law in Soviet society. In between is largely a dry recitation of details in the characteristic manner of law books. The value of this statutory exegesis is further diminished by the authors' own admissions that "the gap between the law in books and the law in action, familiar in all societies, is still more familiar in all armies," and that this gap "in the Soviet military system, is not merely an inevitable consequence of military life but also to a certain extent a deliberate policy of the Soviet authorities."

This is not to say that one may not find a few crumbs of interest in the other four chapters. There is a comparison of the four successive military codes, demonstrating once again the transition of Soviet society from revolution to routine. There is a delineation of the extraordinary degree to which punishments, rewards,

and even the jurisdiction of courts are dependent on the rank of the persons involved. There is also an account of the system of military conscription, during which the authors mistakenly assert that all males are subject to the draft, "whether or not they are in a higher educational institution," unless they are engaged in studies "considered vital for general military purposes." Even if this were true—and other evidence indicates that virtually all college students are exempt from the draft—it would not justify the "hypothesis" that "the system of conscription . . . is founded on the principle of equality of sacrifice"—at least, not without some consideration of equality of access to those institutions, at any rate, which provide training in the "vital" subjects.

It is the last chapter, however, that holds most of the sociological meat. Here, Professor Berman and Mr. Kerner go into a fuller discussion of the significance of Soviet military law for an understanding of the larger society. They point out that what might elsewhere be considered the rigors of military service are for the Soviet citizen simply an extension of his experiences in a "mobilized social order." On the other hand, in a unique passage they illustrate, from reports of court decisions, the difficulties attending the Soviet attempt to apply military discipline to civilian occupations; the Soviet courts found it somewhat awkward to define "absence without leave" for civilian workers who, unlike soldiers, were not expected to be on duty twenty-four hours of the day. Although apparently with reluctance, they conclude that where justice and discipline conflict, discipline has the upper hand. For the totalitarian state cannot seek justice for justice's sake. It can, as Professor Berman is wont to emphasize, press for the stability and predictability that come with the establishment and enforcement of law, but law nevertheless remains an expendable means to an end, not a value in itself.

As we might expect in any work that Professor Berman has had a hand in, this one also argues the thesis, now in the military context, that Soviet law is "parental" in nature, intended to educate and guide as well as to punish. This sort of law is made necessary, so the argument runs, by "the fact that the people governed by Soviet law are themselves indeed more child-like . . . than Western peoples." Law becomes a method of "child-rearing" adapted to the conditions of an urban society. The authors confess that they take a risk in making such a generalization, and I am not sure whether to praise them for their courage or criticize them for their rashness.

A volume of translations of relevant docu-

ments and of reports of former Soviet citizens about their military experiences is published together with the book reviewed here.

ROBERT A. FELDMESSER

*Harvard University*

*Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, Vol. II. London: International Sociological Association, 1954. xxix, 450 pp. No price indicated.

In 1951 the International Sociological Association created a research committee under the leadership of the late Professor Theodore Geiger to promote comparative studies of social stratification and social mobility. This effort ultimately led to the publication of three regional trend reports and bibliographies covering the United States, Sweden, and Japan (cf. *Current Sociology*, II, 4, 1953-54). The present volume is a collection of forty-six papers delivered at the Second World Congress of Sociology held at Liège in 1953 and represents the continuing interest of the ISA in this area and type of research.

Professor D. V. Glass originally summarized the proceedings of the Social Stratification section of the Congress in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, VI, 1, (1954), and this is included as an introductory chapter of the present volume. In addition Professor Glass has provided an arrangement of the materials nicely calculated to minimize the necessarily confusing impact of such a variety of papers.

The contributions are divided among six areas of interest: national studies, regional and local situations, social recruitment and status of occupations, social mobility, strata characteristics, and a final section dealing with conceptualization, theory, and methodological problems encountered in stratification research.

While it is impossible to comment on all the papers, Mukerjee's pointed analysis of the Indian caste system, P. C. Glick's circumspect study of the relationship between educational attainment and occupational advancement in the United States, and Kurt Mayer's succinct statement on the theory of social classes are worthy of note. Also of interest are the data presented on occupational status for Germany and Japan. Finally, while many of the papers are rather brief or concern descriptions of research in process or proposals for future studies, the paper by Bendix and Lipset on the function of the ideology of equalitarianism in promoting mobility in America, Isenstadt's statement on social mobility and the development of intergroup leadership, and Bendix's analysis of the self-legitimation of the English

entrepreneurial class constitute major efforts in the collection.

Perhaps the most useful and refreshing quality of the volume is the range of studies presented which involves no less than seventeen different countries. This is a welcome antidote to the provincialism that often plagues contemporary American sociology. At the same time the papers are evidence of the successful transplanting of the traditional empirical orientation of American sociology abroad.

If any significant empirical generalization can be drawn from the variety of comparative materials presented it is, perhaps, clear evidence of the surprising (to some) relatively high rates of social mobility in societies other than American. The Third Congress is to be held at Amsterdam in the summer of 1956 and will include sections of class structure and social mobility in the context of the conference topic, "Problems of Social Change in the 20th Century." It is to be hoped that the ISA will again be able to publish the proceedings.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ

*Brown University*

*Land Uses in American Cities*. By HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, assisted by JACK WOOD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. x, 196 pp. \$6.50.

The objective of this book is to provide a sound basis for zoning and to aid municipalities in their determinations of the extents of their areas and the locations of their boundaries. In pursuit of this aim, the results of land use field surveys in eighty-six cities and eleven urban areas, conducted during the period 1935 to 1952, are analyzed. Land use distributions are treated separately for "central cities," "satellite cities," and "urban areas." Ten classes of land uses are recognized. Privately developed uses are represented by single-family, two-family and multi-family residential areas, commercial uses, and light and heavy industrial uses; while publicly developed uses include streets, railroad property, parks and playgrounds, and public and semi-public property. The amount of land in each use category is reported as a per cent of the total developed land and as acres per 100 population. Some attention is given to vacant land in "central cities" and in "satellite cities." In addition to arithmetic means, by type of land use and by type and size of urban place, presented in the text, appendix tables show detailed information for each individual place.

The types of urban places studied, though they are identified by the class names used by

the Bureau of the Census, bear but slight relationship to their Census counterparts. Of the fifty-three "central cities" surveyed, only twenty-two are classed as central cities in Census publications. Their populations at the time of survey, moreover, range from 1,740 to 821,960. A precise definition of the "urban area" is not given. Hence the reader does not know how the fringe was delimited.

The author sheds no light on the mode of selecting the eighty-six cities and eleven urban places. Presumably they are places which employed the services of Harland Bartholomew and Associates. In any case, one cannot avoid asking what kind of a sample they constitute. The matter is further confused by the scatter of the surveys over some seventeen years. The logic of combining data from such an historical series into one set of averages is obscure. The author himself states that "... it is apparent that the land use pattern, as well as the amount of land utilized for a particular purpose, and often the density of development, are constantly undergoing changes." (P. 13) However charitably disposed the reader may be, it is unlikely that he will grant that the means or group averages may be considered norms, to say nothing of "definite laws of absorption." (P. 136)

The findings of the study are highly interesting. They constitute the only acre by acre (see the appendix tables) inventory of land uses for a large number of cities that is available. The pertinence of the data for the apportioning of urban land among various uses by zoning ordinances is self-evident. But that they provide a reliable guide is doubtful in view of the unknown nature of the sample, the large variances, and the few controls applied. It is even more questionable, however, that the proportional distribution of urban land at a point in time reveals the amount of land a city should include or where the boundaries should be located. This issue is fraught with a host of administrative and policy questions which have little or no relation to the land use pattern. The author wisely neglects to involve himself in the problem.

AMOS H. HAWLEY

*University of Michigan*

*Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis: A General Method with an Application to the San Francisco Bay Area.* University of California Publications in Psychology. Volume 8, No. 1. By ROBERT C. TRYON. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. viii, 99 pp. \$1.50.

"Social areas" are a little bit like what some people used to call "natural areas," i.e., "two

or more census tracts . . . that have the same pattern of demographic and psychosocial features"; and "cluster analysis" is a sort of poor man's factor analysis. Tryon's monograph gives enough details for a do-it-yourself researcher to follow his methods. This review concerns the end product, rather than the procedure.

Thirty-three summary indexes calculated from census tract data are grouped into seven "clusters" and a "residual" of four variables that don't fit into any cluster. The clusters are pretty arbitrary: Ten of the 29 variables in clusters actually correlate more highly with a variable outside their own cluster than with any variable inside it, and 14 of the remaining 19 have at least one correlation with some variable outside their cluster exceeding their lowest intra-cluster correlation (my computation). Moreover, the author allows himself considerable freedom in shifting variables from one cluster to another, "for interpretation purposes." The naming and description of the clusters are arbitrary too. For example, "female achievement" consists of the percentage of females 25 years old and over; the percentage of employed females in professional, semiprofessional, and managerial occupations; and one minus the ratio of children under five years old to females 15 to 39 years old. But one would not expect the clusters to be very meaningful after discovering that the author gives misleading or downright erroneous identifications of five of his 33 elementary variables; e.g., the third variable in the foregoing list is called "childless females."

Three of the clusters, "family life," "assimilation," and "socioeconomic independence," are found to be the "most independent set" of three clusters and are "necessary and sufficient" to account for inter-cluster correlations. Tracts with similar score patterns on these three "dimensions" are grouped to form 18 "specific social areas" and eight "general social areas." About one tract in 11 is found to be "atypical" and hence is not classified—an inconvenience, to say the least, to an investigator expecting to use the classification.

The author frankly states at the outset that his purpose is "to classify people." How well does his technique do this job? Consider the "dimension" of "socioeconomic independence." Tracts ranking high "include relatively more persons working for self, being waited on by servants, possessing more costly homes and an expensive college education." Evidently "socioeconomic independence" does not describe the servants in these tracts who do the "waiting on." Nor, even in the social area ranking highest in "socioeconomic independence," is Tryon's description accurate for the 80 per cent



of the employed labor force who receive wages and salaries from employers rather than "working for self," for the 20 per cent of households living in rented dwelling units rather than "possessing costly homes," or for the 61 per cent of adults who have never been to college (my computations). In short, if you are going to "classify people," identifying their area of residence takes you only a short way toward your objective. Fortunately for society, if not for researchers, cities are not so highly segregated that area averages ordinarily substitute for individual observations—a point stressed by critics of so-called ecological correlation.

In a thorough critique of this volume one would have to comment at length on the loose usage of concepts like structure, organization, integration, culture, homogeneity, and validity; the concatenation of statistical techniques inappropriate to the data; the failure to exploit data (block statistics) crucial to certain of the hypotheses; and the ignorance of or disregard for the considerable literature on urban communities that has anticipated every significant substantive result of the research. In a brief review one can only record his impression that "cluster analysis" has not yet advanced our knowledge of the city, whatever its uses may be in psychometrics.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

*University of Chicago*

*Suburbanization of Service Industries within Standard Metropolitan Areas.* Studies in Population Distribution Number 10. By RAYMOND P. CUZZORT. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems jointly with Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, 1955. vi, 71 pp. \$1.05, paper.

*Suburbanization of Manufacturing Activity within Standard Metropolitan Areas.* Studies in Population Distribution Number 9. By EVELYN M. KITAGAWA and DONALD J. BOGUE. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems jointly with Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago. vi, 162 pp. \$1.80, paper.

During the past two decades there has been a movement of urban populations and economic activities toward the suburbs of American cities. Previous studies of single metropolitan areas have indicated that certain economic activities have been moving from the central city. Other studies have stressed the population growth of the metropolitan ring as compared to the central city. There has been a need for a more

comprehensive and detailed study of the extent to which the metropolitan ring of all standard metropolitan areas (S.M.A.) in the U. S. have changed in economic activities as compared with population growth. It is toward this end that the present monographs are directed.

As a specific aspect of this general problem, Mr. Cuzzort has directed competently his research toward the problem of the relationship between population trends, composition, and distribution as well as toward the composition, trends and distribution of service trade activities. The author designates as his first task, the general description of the metropolitanization of service industries. He then presents data related to the suburbanization of metropolitan service industries. By use of percent distribution and percent change of population, receipts from services, service establishments and service employees by component areas of the S.M.A. for the 13 economic regions of the U. S., a description of the trends and degree of suburbanization is achieved. Recognizing some of the limitations of this methodology, the author graphically demonstrates that a thorough analysis must take into account the deviations of individual S.M.A.'s from the mean values and seek to determine what factors are related to the deviations from the mean of all S.M.A.'s.

The eighth monograph of this series presented previously the use of the methods of multiple regression analysis, analysis of variance, and analysis of covariance in urban and population research. These methods are used by the author to gain a more penetrating analysis of why there are such marked differences among S.M.A.'s and how these differences are related to the *degree* and *rate* of suburbanization of services. Greatest emphasis is placed on the use of the method of multiple regression analysis. The author succinctly summarizes in the final chapter, evaluating some of the implications of the research findings. He competently assays the methodology, critically states the limitations and with keen discernment suggests hypotheses to be tested.

The monograph by Kitagawa and Bogue adds to other studies on the spatial distribution of manufacturing activity in the U. S. by exploring four topics not included in previous research. They are: (1) relating population and manufacturing in their analysis; (2) concentrating their research on the individual S.M.A. and its parts, thus dertermining the "degree to which the averages and rates for *categories of areas* match the actual behavior of *individual areas* which have been thrown together into the category" (p. 1), (3) extending the indexes from one to three in measuring manufacturing ac-



tivity, and (4) utilizing data on workers in manufacturing industries from the Census of Population in addition to statistics from the Census of Manufactures.

The research under discussion is handled in much the same manner as the previous monograph. That is, the authors present a general description of the spatial distribution of manufacturing and population in the U. S. and then seek to determine the extent to which manufacturing activity has redistributed itself. Following an analysis of the suburbanization of each S.M.A., they use the three statistical methods presented by Mr. Bogue in the earlier monograph to determine the factors that would explain the variation in *degree* and *rate* of manufacturing suburbanization. These are then related to the rate of centralization and suburbanization of the place of residence of manufacturing workers. To the extent that the research did not account for some of the variation in certain S.M.A.'s, the authors requested some special explanation from individual plan commissions. These explanations are presented followed by a summary of statistical analysis, reports from local analysis, and implications of the findings. The authors are careful to point out that their research is limited in many respects. Their monographs, however, contribute markedly to our knowledge of the suburbanization of economic activities.

AUBREY WENDLING

San Diego State College

*Urban Sociology.* By EGON ERNEST BERGEL.  
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company,  
Inc., 1955. xi, 558 pp. \$6.50.

It is decidedly refreshing to find a sociology text which is also readable. A work on urban sociology especially runs the risk of too heavy a dosage of demographic and descriptive statistics.

Like many other sociological works, in which the qualification is not suggested by the title, *Urban Sociology* is not a general work but is primarily oriented toward urbanism in the United States. There are the usual reasons for this, beyond the writer's participant familiarity with the home scene: the speed of urbanization, and the rash of social problems attending it gained the attention of our most empirically minded school of sociologists so that a large body of data are available. These reasons, however, should not be so compelling as to remove the study from a more general context.

Bergel's focus on the United States is so fixed as to lead him into very detailed considerations of public administration that seem to

have applicability only to our own urban experience. This is carried to the point of suggesting detailed point-by-point outlines for achieving clean and efficient government and fair and equitable taxation schemes. Such a spirit of civic reformation is commendable but seems less appropriate for a text on urban sociology than one in planning or administration.

This is not to say that world urbanization is ignored. Of necessity, the historical materials deal with the antecedents of our own cities. The demographic materials are drawn from international statistics. There are many references to non-United States urban experience, but they seem almost incidental in the derivation of any more universal sociological generalizations.

It may not be just to criticize the author for what he in fact disclaims to do. In his preface he makes clear that the book "is essentially an analysis of contemporary urban society in the United States."

He further explicitly states that:

Urban sociology can be conceived as the science of modern urbanized society. Its goal would be a general sociological theory derived from an analysis of our own age. However, nothing even remotely resembling so revolutionary a departure from established procedures has been attempted in this book.

Perhaps such a departure should not be viewed as so revolutionary—in fact, it might be a principal justification for a new text. Urban sociology is in large part a descriptive science and has thus amassed a vast array of facts about population and processes of population change. By now it has surely come of age. It is entirely appropriate to turn our attention to more dynamic aspects than demography and a patchwork kind of linkage with theories of social structure and social organization. One should hope that demographic analysis, discursive description of historical processes and *ad hoc* explication of contemporary processes might be placed in a more coherent theoretical framework. This is, of course, a facile criticism to make of any book—but valid.

If a major function of a text is to furnish a provocative counterfoil to a teacher's own biases and orientation, this book succeeds. However, such provocations are the stuff of which criticism is made and this reviewer was provoked on a few scores.

Bergel's frequent use of the term "masses" suggested condescension, unexpected in a sociologist *qua* sociologist. "Masses" is not used merely in the sense of large numbers of people, but with the imputation of low taste and vulgarity. Even though, as scientists, some of

us may adjure the intrusion of values in social science, they may nevertheless be implicit in approaches to disorganization, etc. At the same time, we may protest the culture—or class-centered biases of taste. The possession of values by a sociologist may be a moot point, but in the realm of aesthetics the sociologist should not set himself up as arbiter. In Bergel's view, the masses are not only disadvantaged, but apparently low-brow for they do not share his tastes in the arts. It is on such a plane that he allows himself in another context to suggest, as a solution for at least one social problem, relocation of residents of an area on the basis of his value system. Perhaps there is no one better qualified to suggest social therapy or amelioration than the social scientist, but we at least have the right to expect that the efficacy of the prescription be empirically demonstrated. It is especially incumbent upon the author of a text book to see that his values do not obtrude, since students are often prone to accept as gospel their first introduction to a new subject matter.

Bergel seems to espouse the "pulling up by one's own bootstrap" theory of social change. Dealing with totally different problems one is left with the impression that a solution lay in the deliberate and conscious effort to change upon the part of the group under consideration. For example, he sees assimilation as solving many of the problems of group tensions and as being hampered by the reluctance of Jews to intermarry.

The coverage of this book is conventional. Like most texts in the field, it devotes space to historical origins and background of the city, problems of definitions and delimitation, ecological processes, urban institutions, social problems and amelioration. The book's strength lies in the treatment of the more traditional materials and reporting of the classical and divergent views, its weakness in a tendency to psychologize and moralize. A more general theoretical orientation could well have substituted for the sometimes moralistic tone.

MORRIS AXELROD

*University of Michigan*

*Rural Sociology.* (Second Edition). By LOWRY NELSON. New York: American Book Co., 1955. xvi, 568 pp. \$5.75.

This text in rural sociology was originally published in 1948. Because of its clarity of expression, its logical organization, its inclusive coverage, its attractive illustrations, and general readability, it became one of the most usable textbooks available for undergraduate students in rural sociology.

Like most other texts in this field, this one attempted to provide the student with descriptions and analyses of rural institutions and rural groups. Considerable emphasis was placed on physical environment and on population as influencing factors. An incomplete and somewhat inadequate sociological orientation was introduced as a theoretical frame of reference. Following the social process approach, the author dealt with competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, cooperation in rural society, and placed more than the usual stress on stratification and on mobility. More than one-half of the book was devoted to an extensive treatment of rural institutions including property in land and farming systems. Critics of the original volume complained that it failed to integrate adequately its descriptive data with reference to basic theoretical constructs, that it was too much oriented toward commercial agriculture and that it failed to encompass adequately many of the revolutionary changes taking place in rural America.

The second edition carries no basic revision in organization of subject matter. In fact the identity between the two editions is so great that for the most part the original index of subjects including exact page citations apply as well to the new edition as to the old one. The new edition has the same number of pages, the same format, the same chapter titles and subtitles, the same questions for discussion, the same numbers of charts and statistical tables and the same pictures.

What is new is that many of the tables and charts, particularly those derived from data provided by the Federal Census of 1950 and later sample surveys, have been brought up to date. Minimum revisions in textual material have been made to harmonize text, charts and tables. Only in Chapter II on social stratification does one find a substantial amount of rewriting—a decided improvement.

Both the positive and negative criticisms directed at the original of this work apply with about equal force to this revision. Still lacking is a fully adequate sociological orientation and a fully satisfactory integration of materials around acceptable theoretical constructs. Those who detected a biased emphasis on commercial farmers in the original will still find the same in the new volume, though the author points out that non-agricultural occupations are prominent in rural America and cites statistics showing that only a relatively small minority of American farms are commercial and producing products valued at more than \$5,000 annually.

Those who felt that the original volume presented a too static view of rural life in the

U.S.  
the  
last  
diffe  
occu  
raise  
impa  
may  
agri  
A  
of  
stud  
it w  
auth

T

Blac

F

1

E

imp

in

Sou

car

pro

Dec

as

way

det

ing

tion

the

rich

res

nat

is

for

—

it

tur

in

pe

of

lan

Le

su

log

TA

bo

le

pa

in

m

H

so

gr

U.S.A. will remain disappointed. In this regard the author interposes a new paragraph in the last chapter to the effect that rural-urban differences in the future will be based more on occupation than on place of residence. This raises the question as to whether under the impact of modern urbanization, rural sociology may cease to be rural sociology and become agricultural sociology.

Among its competitors this book remains one of the most usable ones for undergraduate students in rural sociology. In its revised form it will reflect additional credit on its talented author.

A. R. MANGUS

*The Ohio State University*

*Blackways of Kent.* By Hylan Lewis. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xxiv, 337 pp. \$5.00.

*Blackways of Kent* is a study in cultural imperatives. It tells the story of how the Negro in Kent—a town of 4,000 in the Piedmont South (Negroes numbering a third)—has carved out a way of life to cope with the problem of a tough cultural situation in the Deep South. The study is conceived primarily as an investigation of a subculture. The "Blackways of Kent" are viewed as having sufficiently determinable cultural substance and as revealing a characteristic manner of cultural integration. Being a subculture, the ways of life of the Negro in Kent mirror in varying degrees of richness contemporary American culture. They respond to and incorporate local, regional, national, and international influences. The book is more than a sheer description of relevant formal cultural elements—traits and complexes—that enter into the making of a subculture; it seeks to give human meanings to these cultural forms. Above all, *Blackways of Kent* tells in human terms the story of "how the negro people treat themselves against the background of the manner in which they are treated in the larger society . . ." (p. 328) and, this, to Hylan Lewis, is a basic problem in the study of any subculture.

Conceptually, the book is chiefly anthropological, drawing key concepts from John Gillin's *The Ways of Man*. In research method, the book shows a happy combination of anthropological field work technique and sociological participant-observational technique. Approaching the study of the Negro subculture in the manner of an anthropologist and sociologist, Hylan Lewis, in Part One, not only places solidly the "Blackways of Kent" in their geographic, ecological, and demographic contexts

but also in the broader cultural situation. In Part Two, he deals with contents of the subculture in terms of the institutions of courtship, marriage, and the family; the economics of Negro life; religion and salvation; teaching the children; government and social control; orientations and values; and social organization. He concludes the book by touching upon the consistency and coordination of ways of life, and briefly relates the Negro subculture to the dominant or "foreign" culture of Kent.

In each of these chapters (12 chapters in all), Hylan Lewis describes and analyzes culture elements—traits, complexes and institutions. He shows their substance and meaning in terms of actors in cultural situations. Adjustment of these actors to these situations is made more meaningful by citing at numerous points anecdotes portraying in human terms the actors' daily conduct. Unable to do much to remake and reshape that culture according to the new demands and/or to direct response to the moving events of the world outside his own community, the Negro in Kent becomes anxiety ridden, takes aggression against himself or upon members of his own group; develops a personal philosophy to make peace with himself; and places a premium on "treating people right."

This is the kind of book which should be read by one interested in looking inside the life of Negro society in a southern town; or, by those who approach the Negro with a set of stereotypes but who are yet curious to know what goes on in the back of the Negro's mind. The book is also recommended to sophisticated anthropologists and sociologists who have a concern for arriving at some sort of typology of communities in general and Negro subculture in particular. However, there is a lesson to be learned from *Blackways of Kent* and that is: a more sophisticated body of theories should be advanced independent of or in conjunction with empirical studies of communities, otherwise, as Hylan Lewis says, the saturation point is reached in case studies of community.

From the perspective of race relations, *Blackways of Kent* is one of the important source books, since it tells so well the substance and meaning of a subculture in a southern town. The reader can obtain rich insights into the tenacious character of race relations in the South. The book portrays vividly how the white man's hand of control regulates so wide an area of Negro activities; how controls are exercised to maintain white supremacy. Above all, the book indicates that the effect of the color line is to foster and preserve the Negro subculture and, at the same time, sustain a



sick society in general. All this points up the fact the change in race relations, abstractly conceived, is one thing; but when it is conceived concretely in the context of subculture in a southern town, it is quite another. A central lesson one may learn from reading *Blackways of Kent* is this: to alter race relations, psychological appeals alone are not enough; the substance and meaning of a subculture need also be altered in order to give appropriate motivations to those individuals seeking to remake the racial order.

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

Fisk University

*Culture and Human Fertility.* By FRANK LORIMER. With special contributions by MEYER FORTES, K. A. BUSIA, AUDREY I. RICHARDS, PRISCILLA REINING, and GIORGIO MORTARA. Foreword by FRANK W. NOTESTEIN. Paris: UNESCO, 1954. 514 pp. U. S. distributor, Columbia University Press. \$4.50.

The fertility level in "primitive" and agrarian societies is generally high, but not uniformly so, and is not supported by the same institutional arrangements. Anthropologists and sociologists have long been interested in the variety of kinship systems and their functional relationship to other features of the social structure, but interest in analyzing the precise inter-relationships between different kinship systems or family organizations and fertility has emerged rather recently with the realization that problems of controlling population growth are inseparable from the "modernization" of pre-industrial societies. With funds provided by UNESCO and on behalf of a committee of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Frank Lorimer undertook "an examination of cultural conditions affecting fertility in different non-industrial societies in the context of their social organization and cultural values." This book is a detailed and up-to-date account of the little knowledge we have in this area.

The first half of the book consists of Lorimer's theoretical analysis of the problem. From a consideration of the scattered evidence in the literature and the findings of recent special researches in Africa and Asia, some of them done expressly for this survey, he develops a series of tentative hypotheses about socio-cultural conditions tending to induce high fertility and those which may induce low fertility. Space permits neither restatement of the hypotheses nor a critical review of the evidence presented. With the available data a closely argued logical presentation was impossible; a coherent, relatively concise discussion, intelligible to the non-specialist, but well enough documented for the specialist,

was achieved. The general sociologist and the social anthropologist, as well as the demographer, will find this study full of stimulating ideas.

The second half of the book consists of a series of reports on fertility in particular African societies and in Brazil. The most detailed considerations of the inter-relationship of social and cultural conditions and fertility is in the report by Meyer Fortes of a 1945-46 demographic field study in Ashanti, where offspring are highly valued and the matrilineal social organization places few restrictions on childbearing. Fertility surveys in Buganda and Buhaya, made by Audrey Richards and Priscilla Reining especially for this study, reveal a contrasting situation in which offspring are highly valued but the institutional arrangements and social conditions are less favorable to high fertility, and actual fertility is rather low for a non-industrial society. The analysis of Brazilian 1940 census statistics by Giorgio Mortara illustrates the extent to which fertility varies with area, color, and social conditions even in a country where all fertility rates are extremely high. The details of his report have special interest as examples of techniques using census data for analyses ordinarily dependent on vital statistics registration, and as summarizing a lengthy series of reports published in Portuguese. Unfortunately this section is marred by numerous typographical errors and ambiguous wordings.

RUTH RIEMER

University of California  
Los Angeles

*Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire: Dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale.* By GEORGES BALANDIER. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. xii, 510 pp. 1,800 F.

Contemporary social changes in Africa are attracting much attention nowadays, but as yet there exist few scholarly studies relative to the immensity of the practical and theoretical problems involved. In the nineteen thirties British anthropologists began cautiously to tackle some of these questions but research was disrupted by the war, and with the death of Malinowski the impetus was lost. Hence a particular welcome is due to M. Balandier, a lecturer at the Institute d'Etudes Politiques, who now offers us the first broad study of the reactions of two African tribal societies to western influences, and in so doing sets out to formulate the theoretical framework that is so badly needed.



Balandier's approach is historical and comparative. He describes the traditional social life of the two largest tribal groups in French Equatorial Africa, namely the Fang and the Bakongo. Documentary material regarding the processes of colonization is sufficient to enable him to give a good account of some of the chief early influences, the wholesale baptizing of ill-tutored converts, the harsh exploitation of native labor, etc. The author was apparently given access to most of the fairly detailed government archives and records, and he draws upon them to sketch the major trends and crises in native social life from the time of the First World War. The interest of this approach lies largely in the marked contrast between the traditional social organization of the Fang and of the Bakongo, and between their reactions to exogenous pressures. The Fang society lacks any state organization, the basic unit being the agnatic lineage upon which the residential groups are founded. Over an extended period Fang lineage groups have been occupying the territory of their neighbours and in places where strong pressure has been brought to bear by the French these groups have simply emigrated. The authority structure is fluid. The Bakongo, on the other hand, have the elements of state organization with solidary matrilineages to which land ownership, economic status and authority are tightly related. The former have only recently taken seriously to agriculture but the latter have shown considerable enterprise and competence in this sphere. Both tribes have recently recaptured the initiative in social change and have shown significant modernist trends.

Fang society was seriously disrupted by colonization. The delicate balance between the various structural elements was upset and tribal social controls lost much of their efficacy; family life was seriously affected while the creation of chiefs by the administration was never entirely successful. The reactions of the Fang are seen most sharply in the growth of a nativistic cult and in a popular movement for the reorganization of the traditional clans. The more integrated social structure of the Bakongo showed far greater resistance to similar influences and Bakongo reactions have been centered upon the problem of their relations with the colonial power, rather than upon internal adjustments. The Bakongo have fostered two powerful anti-colonial movements, Matswanism and Kimbangism, which are analysed by M. Balandier with a wealth of interesting detail. Matswa's organization was originally a sort of friendly society into which anti-French feeling was directed. The admin-

istration foolishly made a martyr of its founder: he died in prison in 1942 and is now revered as "Jesus Matsma". Years after the confiscation of the association's funds the Bakongo refused rebates on crop sales and other credits because they suspected they were attempts to restore the stolen monies. Matswa's supporters are even today a source of disturbance. Kibangu was a Bakongo from Belgian territory who declared himself the Africans' messiah and founded a syncretistic church to bring salvation to his people. Further messianic movements have since appeared and they shed much light upon the racial tensions of this region.

M. Balandier's description of the traditional society of these two tribes is perhaps unnecessarily detailed, but his account of the changes they have undergone is full of stimulating comment. He emphasizes the importance of studying the "colonial situation" and the necessary consequences of the kind of relationship subsisting between the colonial society and the society that is colonized. The discussion of changes in the position of Fang women and the effect of economic stimulations upon the circulation of marriage payments is novel, whilst I found his analysis of syncretism and cultural borrowing of particular value. Many other topics are well treated and throughout the text there are numerous sound observations as to the methodology of this kind of analysis. Yet the concluding chapter does not fulfil the promise of the earlier pages. M. Balandier has not carried the theory of social change very much further forward. He has given us in effect an unusually good case study and we shall have to wait for the fuller theoretical contribution which this book gives us every right to expect.

Unfortunately the value of the book to the foreign reader is considerably reduced by the failure to provide an index.

MICHAEL BANTON

*University of Edinburgh*

*The Doukhobors of British Columbia.* Edited by HARRY B. HAWTHORN. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia and J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited, 1955. xii, 288 pp. \$5.50.

Canada is a country where a provincial Attorney-General can afford politically to be so dissatisfied with the police approach towards the management of an unpopular minority group as to call upon social scientists for help. *The Doukhobors of British Columbia* was written in response to such a request for recommendations of how to handle the Sons of Freedom fraction of the Doukhobor sect. Out of a total population of about 3,000, including

children, 400 were in jail in 1950 for law violations, committed by them in what they regarded as obedience to the higher law of their conscience. The group is economically very marginal. Their ambivalence toward personal ownership of property and their refusal, on religious grounds, to register for individual titles of land acquired under the Homestead Act provisions, resulted in a loss of tens of thousands of acres. The group was further impoverished when their holdings, purchased by a communally-operated corporation, "The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood," went bankrupt in 1937.

Had the Doukhobors lived in far-off Africa, their culturally almost "schizoid" unintegrated system of values would probably be ignored, except perhaps to furnish a freshman textbook illustration of the generalization that a subculture can sanction what is deviant behavior in the eyes of the majority. But since this sect is well within the reach of the Associated Press, United Press, and Reuter's News Service, the popular press has carried news repeatedly about this group, whose culture can support the joint and public disrobing of men and women to assert their religious faith. It has induced men to more than 400 "pacifist" bridge or school dynamitings and arsonist destruction of their own property since 1924. It has fused a group of Russian peasants, each avowing an anarchistic philosophy that men should only be controlled by the dictates of their own conscience, into a cohesive community dominated by autocratic leaders. Doukhobors have often refused to comply with provincial marriage registration laws because they do not believe that a third party, the government, should intrude in so sacred a relationship. This study of East European peasant culture conflict, unlike such illustrious antecedents as William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, and Pauline V. Young's *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, is focused on social action. It illustrates that applied sociology need neither be second-rate in its scientific orientation nor too theoretical for governmental implementation.

The data were compiled by and written up by a team of Canadian and American scholars, including such generalizing scientists as an anthropologist, an economist, an agronomist, and a religious philosopher, and more individualizing scientists, including a nursery school teacher and a psychiatrist. It is interesting to follow how the latter find it necessary to adapt their theoretical emphasis on individual motivation to the task which confronts them, that of interpreting a social problem. They do not

look for individual pathology to explain the fact that many hundreds of Sons of Freedom Doukhobors engage in arson, nudism, etc., in fairly predictable social situations. As they were unable to find significant personality differences in the small numbers of antisocially aggressive and non-aggressive Doukhobors available for study, their interpretations turn out to be as socio-anthropological as those of the rest of the team. They interpret the behavior of adult Doukhobors by reference to basic culture-personality patterns of the group, such as the strong encouragement of passivity, dependence and hostility in the relations of parents and their children, and of adults and their leaders. The book has a quality of integration at the theoretical level which is encouraging evidence that a common social science frame of reference can be found useful by a group of experts belonging to such varied academic jurisdictions.

The action recommendations are generally stated non-judgmentally. They begin with statements of the consequences of existing governmental practices and proceed to a prediction of changes which would probably occur if different practices were to be adopted. For example, the writers point out that the "whole structure of criminal law is based on the thesis that people really do not want to go to jail," and then contrast this assumption with the fact that nudist protest parades by Sons of Freedom Doukhobors did not diminish when the penalty was increased. Punishment of this behavior seemed to play into the hands of Doukhobor extremists who seek martyrdom. Enforcement of this law has cost the Province of Alberta large sums of money to incarcerate the offenders, look after their families, and may ultimately incur even greater economic and human welfare costs if it leads to further disorganization of family and communal ties without substitute institutions to provide for social cohesion. The reader can take his choice between law enforcement, looking the other way, or a combination of these alternatives.

JOSEPH W. EATON

Western Reserve University

*Theories of Perception and the Concept of Structure: A Review and Critical Analysis with an Introduction to a Dynamic-Structural Theory of Behavior.* By FLOYD H. ALLPORT. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1955. xxii, 709 pp. \$8.00.

A quarter of a century ago there flourished in academic psychology a bold viewpoint that seemed to promise to account for human behavior on the basis of a conception of a simple

reflex arc, modifiable by a process of conditioning. A body at rest, stirred at the receptors by a stimulus, is moved to make a predictable response. By conditioning, a second stimulus presented several times simultaneously with the first could alone elicit the response. In such a conception all behavior was to be explained, without reference to any processes so complex and mystical as imagination.

The conceptions, admittedly oversimplified in the above statement, have undergone enormous elaboration over the years, without loss of the essence of the belief that behavior could be handled within a framework of stimulus as cause, and conditioning as the learning or modifying process. Over a recent period of years, one of the leading members of the school has taken a long, hard look at the evidence, and apparently has thrown the scheme overboard, replacing it with a completely different conceptualization.

Floyd H. Allport's eventual goal is a general theory of social psychology, but en route he decided to undertake a scouring general review of the research literature on perception. This task in turn stimulated him to state a general theory of structure which is intended to harmonize with all that is known in the research literature on perception.

The bulk of the book consists of the chapters in which existing theories of perception are critically evaluated. This is carried out in a thorough and thoughtful manner, and results in the presentation of eight major generalizations which emerge from the research literature in all fields. These are named as follows: (1) Interrelatedness, compounding, includingness; (2) self-closedness and circularity; (3) space and time building; (4) flexibility; (5) establishment and persistence of constant relationships; (6) energetic cycle or level-maintenance; (7) energetic weighting and pooling; (8) interfacilitation and opposition of aggregates. These cannot be explained here—in fact it probably requires three readings of the book to comprehend them adequately.

The final chapter states the new theory, which is a characterization of a non-quantitative form of dynamic structure, consisting of elements which are on-going circular processes of higher and lower orders, in parallel combinations and capable of indefinite repeating. These partially closed systems maintain their identity while influencing one another and being influenced by outside events. Behavior is conceived as not fully determinant, but in terms of degrees of probability—a particular perceptual act will occur not as an inevitable result of a stimulus-

cause, but as a consequence of internal structures of great complexity coming to a sufficiently high degree of probability. There is no attempt to describe the mechanism of a particular concrete example of behavior. The theory is presented as a conceivable approach to explanation and its author is explicitly aware of its incomplete and tentative nature.

Time will be needed for an adequate assessment of the theory, but the first impression is of an exceptionally important advance, made by a noteworthy feat of organization and creative imagination.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

*University of Washington*

*A Sociology of Education.* By WILBUR B. BROOKOVER in collaboration with ORDEN C. SMUCKER and JOHN FRED THADEN. New York: American Book Company, 1955. xii, 436 pp. \$4.75.

Early in the second chapter of this very competent textbook, Dr. Brookover presents a challenge—to himself and to other educators. He says: "In the past few years few sociologists have been interested in educational sociology, and apparently there has been no increase in interest in departments of education" (p. 23). Yet he reports that Landis, in 1947, found more than 1,000 sociology courses listed in the catalogues of 162 teachers' colleges. Brookover believes that teacher-training institutions are offering many more sociology courses than they previously did. He suggests that "perhaps directors of teacher-training programs now feel that teachers can get better training in sociology from other sociology courses than from those specifically designated educational sociology."

In 1927, Lee found that educational sociology courses "seemed to be a hodgepodge of subjects which instructors in sociology and education had put together for the training of teachers and others interested." Brookover's own survey of the literature confirmed this indication of divergent ideas of the field. He has identified the following concepts of educational sociology: (1) the means of social progress; (2) a basis for deciding the objectives of education; (3) an applied sociology; (4) an analysis of the socializing process; (5) training for educational workers; (6) an analysis of the place of education in society; and (7) an analysis of social interactions within the school and between the school and the community.

In the face of the evidence of declining interest in educational sociology, and of the hodgepodge diversity of past approaches, Brookover states his firm belief that there is a place for a sociological analysis of education. He then



proposes two negative and one positive criterion for delineating the field which he prefers to call *sociology of education*:

"First, it will not include all of sociology simply because sociology is good training for teachers. If the latter is true, then teachers should be trained in sociology. Having prospective teachers studying courses in sociology does not make sociology a science of educational sociology. Second, sociology of education is not a technology of education. . . .

"Third, on the positive side, the sociology of education is the analysis of the social processes and social patterns involved in the educational system." (pp. 30-31.)

One minor suggestion occurs to this reviewer as a resident of North Carolina. Brookover's three-page treatment of segregation in the Southern states seems to be competent as far as it goes. However, to those of us who see at close quarters the struggle about desegregation, this problem would seem to deserve considerably fuller exposition. Here is an area where many fundamental aspects of social interaction and social change appear dramatically in relation to public education.

As a textbook, this volume is thoroughly admirable. It embodies the best results of past scholarship and past quantitative research. It is well organized, readable, and clear. By its competent survey of this field, this book has presented an excellent case for its own use.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

*Evaluation in Mental Health.* Report of the Subcommittee in Evaluation of Mental Health Activities, National Advisory Mental Health Council, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955. x, 292 pp. \$2.00.

To measure the worth of a new sales approach is difficult enough, but much more hazardous is the task of measuring the worth of mental health activities in a field where the very concept of mental health is beclouded. Yet it must be done. Since both Congressional and State legislatures are in generous agreement with Salk's declaration that mental health research must be the next great objective of concerted effort, sociologists will increasingly be called upon to join the research teams.

The result of more than two years of work by a part of the Community Services Committee of the National Advisory Mental Health Council, this is the most comprehensive report so far available of both completed and current evaluation studies in the field of mental health.

The report is primarily restricted to studies which assess accomplishment in mental health,

although studies which assess need and methods of measurement are also included. In spite of a rigorous refusal to be diverted by the vast literature in mental health which is not strictly evaluative, there is still an annotated bibliography of nearly a thousand items grouped in such categories as: studies of theoretical and methodological considerations, and studies evaluating community organization of mental health activities, their administration, professional personnel, education and information, preventive effects of programs, factors influencing individual mental health, and diagnostic, prognostic and treatment procedures.

For the sociologist, the most useful features of the book are three enlightening chapters synthesizing the main trends and issues in evaluating mental health. Here it is pointedly observed that many researchers appear to be duplicating only tried and true hypotheses instead of venturing to explore new leads. By way of example of the kind of assumption that continues to go untested, the Committee cites such statements as: "Unconscious psychological determinants are the major explanation of inadaptive reaction," "An understanding of causality in human behavior is more effective in improving mental health than is emphasis on surface effects" (p. 59). Considering that social isolation was long assumed to be a principal factor in schizophrenia until Clausen and Kohn questioned it as a result of their systematic observations in the Hagerstown study, the caution is apt.

While the sophisticated evaluator may complain that it is trite to say that studies of comparative methods of treatment without control groups are almost meaningless, this and a good many less evident errors in methodology continue to be made and are accordingly noted in the Committee's survey.

As a reference compilation of the chief findings in an expanding area, as a critical analysis of what is and is not clearly known, as a work which puts in an interpretative framework otherwise isolated projects, this is a government publication not to be overlooked by researchers, specialists in mental health, or, less directly perhaps, workers faced with perennial problems of informing or securing action from groups in a community.

MARGARET CUSSLER

University of Maryland

*Morale in War and Work: An Experiment in the Management of Men.* By T. T. PATERSON. London: Max Parrish, 1955. 256 pp. \$3.00.

This is a fascinating and puzzling book, and it presents the reader with a problem which is



unusual in sociological literature. Paterson's study of an RAF fighter station in 1941 and 1942 is largely based on participant observation, and the report is at the same time a narrative of the investigator's own experiences. The unusual problem is that Paterson's experiences verge on implausibility.

He reports to the Bogfield flying base in 1941, as a junior officer and radar controller, and is immediately assigned to work out a scheme for decreasing the accident rate. He soon branches out into the improvement of squadron morale. He develops a program which symbolizes the weather as an enemy, and eventually devises new methods which make it possible for the station to track and shoot down German planes. In between times, he designs and introduces a new procedure for radio communications, improvises a series of ground training devices, fits out an escort vessel for radar detection and takes it to sea, works out the strategy by which the squadron surprises the enemy, reforms the night defense system for the entire area, engages extensively in the counseling of enlisted men and women, and helps the Station Commander control his officers. He reports (p. 195) that when he went on leave two disastrous raids on a major port were not intercepted, and that he had to be hurriedly recalled to put a stop to them. Higher headquarters seems to have disapproved of "the lone voice in the wilderness of Bogfield" (p. 14). The narrative is often vivid:

As we waited I went over the calculations again. All the conditions were right. There *had* to be a fight that day.

Then the GCI controller shouted over the telephone a plot exactly where we expected it, and at the right height. Group headquarters almost simultaneously said it was a Coastal Command Sunderland flying boat and to 'keep off' But it *had* to be the enemy. I called our pilots for the first time, 'Hallo, two four, vector three one one zero, fifteen miles, over.' The answer 'Three one zero, out.' We dared not risk saying more. Then the excited shout, 'It's a Ju 88!' From superior height they dived on the unsuspecting enemy, both pilots made an attack, and the Ju 88 spun into the sea. The flight commander left his radio switched on, and his orders to Dicky, the sound of their cannon and the roar of engines full out, were heard by everyone in the Ops room through a loudspeaker system I had in readiness for this moment. All our WAAF operators were there in the battle with the pilots. In the mess I met the pilots. 'That was your Ju 88 as much as ours,' said the flight commander, and we broke rules by having a tankard of beer in mid-morning—to the team. (pp. 193-194.)

It would be reassuring if the author presented the usual academic credentials. He does not do so. The preface contains no reference or acknowledgment

to any scholar. Only half a dozen sources are cited, principally F. C. Bartlett's *Psychology and the Soldier*, published in 1927. The absence of verification is regrettable in a work which describes a sociological action program, and reports unprecedentedly favorable results.

Starting with the original problem of high accident rates, Paterson examines and rejects a number of technical and psychological explanations which had been proposed. He demonstrates that neither the characteristics of the aircraft, nor those of the pilots, were responsible for the high rate. A workable explanation begins to develop when he studies the prestige system in the officers' mess, and finds that the pilots with the highest prestige systematically reject the ground officers, with whom they are supposed to work closely, and that these negative evaluations have been adopted by each group of ground officers with reference to the others. The aggressive group attitudes of the pilots are related in turn to their frustrations in their own role—they operate from a rear area and cannot find the enemy. Paterson's program corrects this situation by first developing a symbolic battle against the enemy, then by welding the hostile officer groups into an effective team, and finally by enabling the real enemy to be found and fought. His figures show startling reductions in accident rate for each of the squadrons which were successively exposed to treatment.

The implementation of these programs, which involved considerable manipulation of group behavior, was based upon an analysis in terms of Methetics—defined as the study of participation in group life in terms of bestowed and adopted roles. Paterson observes that groups form norms by modifying the range of behavior of individual members, and that certain members adopt leadership roles in affecting this convergence. Since normative behavior comes about through convergence, it shows itself in agreement. Two kinds of agreement are distinguished in the case of the pilots: agreement of attitudes, and agreement in action. Close analysis of informal interaction among the pilots showed that agreement of attitude is influenced by one kind of leader, and agreement in action by two other kinds of leader. To the former, he gives the useful name of *exemplar*—the ideal, persuasive leader who sums up in his own person the thoughts and feelings of the group. The leaders in action are the *exdominus*, who expresses the group's outward looking needs as against other groups and things, and the *indominus*—not always a separate type—who assumes the leadership for internal action. The other roles in group action are those of the

*mimetic*, who concur with the suggestions of the leaders, and the *isolate*, whose conformity is limited by the fact of his rejection. These roles are permanent, but the role takers change with changing situations. Exemplars tend to retain their roles longer than *domini*. The examples given are interesting, and the analysis of group action in these terms is extremely clear, although sometimes oversimplified.

A surprising number of other topics are touched on in this small volume. A number of industrial situations are briefly described, in order to provide parallel cases. There are fairly full discussions of team spirit and the meaning of work, a theory of prestige and status, an analysis of the meaning of discipline, and a curious account of the commanding officer's attempt to introduce parliamentary democracy into the military order at Bogfield.

Whatever its eventual place in the literature may be, Paterson's book is well written, intelligent, and in several senses, provocative.

THEODORE CAPLOW

University of Minnesota

*Making the Most of Marriage.* By PAUL H. LANDIS. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. xii, 542 pp. \$5.50.

This book, the most recent of Mr. Landis' many publications, should prove to be quite a popular text in preparation for marriage courses, among most of the students at any rate. It is generously laced with amusing anecdotes; quantitative data either are presented in handy pictogram form or, in many chapters, are eliminated altogether; above all, each chapter consists of easily underlined and memorized "facts" unsullied by such considerations as sampling and measurement bias or other limits on inference.

The book is divided into five sections. The first, *Marriage in the Modern Setting*, contains the message that marriage today is better than ever before since it is based on happiness derived through companionship: "Most students of American marriage . . . hold that happiness in marriage . . . represents a new and higher level of human aspiration than earlier generations dared hold" (p. 6). The author explains that contemporary marriage not only is more fun for everyone, but is more important too since "... there has been a great increase in personal need for marriage" (15). Although an entire chapter is devoted to this point, the term "need is never defined. Other sections concern the Build-up to Marriage (including a handy little section on how to break an engagement and the conclusion that marriages of the chaste are most successful); Learning to Fit Marriage;

Parenthood ("Happy couples who want no children have been found to be the exception rather than the rule"—p. 409); and, finally, *Special Problems of Marriage*.

The book completed, one is left with the distinct impression that the major tribulations of the world would soon vanish if everyone could just agree to follow Mr. Landis' simple rules for the achievement of marital happiness. While this is a most pleasing prospect, it may be an unlikely one since it is based on two assumptions, at least one of which may be incorrect. These assumptions are, first, that companionship is among the most fundamental of man's "needs" and, second, that this need can be satisfied most efficiently, if not exclusively in marriage. Throughout this book the author confuses these assumptions with self-evident truth. In this respect Landis is not alone. Most students of the family appear to hold that the assumptions are necessarily correct by the very nature of modern urban life. But none seems willing even to entertain the possibility that companionship, however essential to modern man, may follow the path of other functions once held by the family and later transferred to other institutions. William H. Whyte, Jr. suggests, for example, that the companionship function already is being usurped by the corporation at the level of the junior executive. Is it so far-fetched to imagine that the same thing may be happening at other levels also? The industrial athletic leagues, office parties and the ubiquitous conventions of today may offer the merest hints of recreation and companionship patterns of the future.

Happiness in marriage, then, may not always be virtually synonymous with total happiness. Indeed, such may not even be the case today. It is on these grounds that one may question Landis' assertion that "never have men and women looked so exclusively to . . . marriage . . . for the satisfaction of their needs, their wishes, their secret dreams and . . . aspirations" (p. v). If this assertion, and consequently the entire view of the family based on it, is debatable, surely it is unfair to the reader to present the assertion as verity.

ROBERT MCGINNIS

University of Wisconsin

*Criminology* (Second Edition). By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1955. xiv, 718 pp. \$6.00.

*The Crime Problem* (Second Edition). By WALTER C. RECKLESS. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. x, 728 pp. \$6.50.

Ruth Cavan's new edition of *Criminology* is well written, straightforward in its presentation,

and eclectic in its theoretical approach. Statistical materials have been brought up to date and expanded; a number of new chapters—notably "Treatment of Offenders in the Armed Forces" and "European Adult Offenders and Prisons"—have been added; and the masterful review of theories of criminality, which appeared as a chapter in the text in the first edition, has now been shifted to the back of the book in the form of an appendix.

However, the very virtue of this text, i.e., its excellent coverage of what is now called criminology, provides its weakness. The study of crime and criminals is apt to be looked at somewhat askance by the professional sociologist, and with good cause. Still flavored with the "sin, sex, and sewer" approach to human behavior, narrowly confined to official figures, and forming a province for the moralizer, criminology is likely to be more titillating than revealing both for student and teacher. The fault would seem to lie in the fact that criminal behavior is usually examined as a specific problem to which we apply existing sociological theory where possible. Unfortunately, in the study of crime the emphasis is on the use of theory rather than on making contributions to a more general understanding of social action. Thus, for example, Cavan's new material on offenders in the armed forces remains simply as another "problem area," rather than extending and deepening our knowledge of behavior running contrary to the norms.

In Reckless' second edition of *The Crime Problem*, the stamp of the individual writer is more apparent. The treatment of crime causation has been much enlarged and a clear, concise, and well-organized section on punishment has been added. Current data concerning the extent

of crime and the characteristics of the criminal replace much of the material based on the records of the thirties and forties without, however, substantially changing the patterns observed in the past. The reader has the impression that the second edition of this text differs but little from the first, in spite of changes in over-all organization and the addition of chapters on abnormal sex offenders, the criminality of women, etc.

Reckless continues to stress the "categorical risks in crime," in which different social groups are marked by different chances of being arrested or imprisoned. However, the author vacillates between the hypotheses that (1) variation in crime rates reflects variation in the actual volume of crime; and (2) variation in crime rates is to be traced to the differential treatment of various social groups by the police and the courts. Certainly Reckless has done much to explode any easy acceptance of official crime rates as a valid index of criminal behavior, but at times he seems overly quick to ignore the possibility that certain social groups get into trouble with the police more frequently because they commit more crimes.

Either of these revised textbooks would serve admirably for a beginning course in criminology, but both suffer from a deficiency which marks almost all the works in this field—the analysis of the criminal law and the court system is skimpy and unimaginative. If criminology is to make its fullest possible contribution to the social sciences, we will need to study the legal rules which are violated and their relationship to society, as well as the reasons men violate the rules and the treatment of the offender.

GRESHAM M. SYKES

Princeton University

## BOOK NOTES

*The Study of Political Theory.* By THOMAS P. JENKIN. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. (Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science), 1955. x, 99 pp. Ninety-five cents.

Sociologists will find Professor Jenkin's monograph useful in two major respects:

1. It provides a kind of yardstick, against which we can measure a good deal of current political theory to see how it "fits in." In effect, what is attempted is the development of a taxonomy of political theory—whether as a result of the current state of knowledge or for some other reason, the taxonomy does not seem to possess the systematic value which might be wished, but it is nevertheless a real

step forward; it will prove to have at least the utility of a fair catalog, and may provide the basis for the kind of classification of social processes with which sociologists have had to "make do" for a good many years, applied to political theory, no mean achievement.

For our purposes, and probably in general, it is to be regretted that ten additional pages were not devoted to showing how the analytical processes under discussion resemble (or differ from) those which take place when sociologists "do" social problems, geneticists "do" clinical genetics, etc. The person already familiar with other fields can of course make such comparisons for himself; but as a "first" study (the author's statement of intention) this omission considerably limits its utility.



2. On several subjects, the heroic conciseness and brusqueness which the writer has achieved will stimulate greater recognition of the problems and their nature than does the customary extensive, discursive, and illustrative treatment. To the reviewer, Professor Jenkin seems to have made an especially pertinent contribution in his analysis of "power" and "authority" (pp. 35-41), which definitively supersedes earlier efforts to indicate what we are talking about in using these terms.

Sociologists of knowledge will lament the almost complete innocence of any reference to or seeming awareness of the sociology of science; methodologists will find the "concepts" employed (for example, "relationship between entities," p. 33) confusing (as compared for instance with the rigorous recent work of Woodger on biological methodology in *Biology and Language*, 1954, or with the work of Dewey and Bentley, which the author cites); and so forth. But in these respects the work reflects—but is ahead of—the current state of transdisciplinary fertilization among writers on political theory in general.—LEWIS A. DEXTER

*Operationism.* By A. CORNELIUS BENJAMIN. Springfield, Illinois: CHARLES C THOMAS 1955. vii, 154 pp. \$4.00.

It is not unusual for efforts at clarity to prove productive of the opposite and this, apparently, has been the fate of the "operational definition" and the viewpoint it implies.

Benjamin is able to show the need for his excellent review of operationism in the ambiguities of the term and the unhappy consequences of the sometimes unacknowledged presuppositions of this way of knowing.

Using the writings of physicist P. W. Bridgman as his focus, Benjamin includes in his critique the works of those sociologists and psychologists who, out of the empirical and pragmatic tradition, have found operationism a weapon with which to fight mysticism and the traps that lie in heady abstraction.

Aside from the variant conceptions of operationism given this tool by its makers, Benjamin criticizes this movement on several scores. First, for its over-emphasis of the particular—a ready consequence of the desire for clarity, the fear of empty abstractions, and the stress on the observable. What is needed are "generalizing operations" and a decision as to how to resolve the unavoidable conflict between clarity and generality.

Secondly, operationism tends to disregard "things" and in so doing to assume the identity of nature and knowledge of nature. This presumed identity assists clarity but is hostile to

predictability, both legitimate goals of knowledge.

And, last, operationism is criticized for its failure to provide a classification of operations and to distinguish between symbolic and non-symbolic operations.

The resolution of these problems requires a general theory of knowledge, one that acknowledges and accommodates the various goals of knowing: clarity, certainty, adequacy, range, and utility. Benjamin provides such a "General Operationism" with a lucidity that should put the cognitive quest on sounder footing.

The result is a healthy pruning and refurbishing of operational thinking. There are many social scientists who, while sympathetic to the objectivity-seeking of the positivist, have yet felt something "left out" of such operational slogans as "intelligence is what an intelligence test tests" and "a recipe is an operational definition of a cake." This readable book tells what is left out and why, and shows how to save what is best in operationism.—GWYNNE NETTLER.

*Westchester Real Estate Brokers, Builders, Bankers and Negro Home-Buyers.* A report to the Housing Council of the Urban League of Westchester County, Inc. on Opportunities for Private Open-Occupancy Housing in Westchester. By HAROLD S. GOLDBLATT. November, 1954. 51 pp. \$1.50, mimeo.

The author prepared this report in the role of a "research consultant" to the Westchester County Urban League. The resulting study provides empirical material and an example of applied sociology, but is not significant in theoretical terms.

The main sources were 1950 census figures and some 60 interviews with realtors, mortgage lenders, builders and home owners. Mr. Goldblatt concludes that while about one-third of all Westchester families can readily afford to buy or rent single family homes, only about 1 in 20 Negro families is similarly privileged. Housing for Negroes tends to be concentrated in three specific segregated sections; it tends to be deteriorated. Not only are Negroes generally not in a position to afford single-family housing in nonsegregated areas, the whole institutional framework for building and distributing houses appears to throw up nearly insuperable barriers. White realtors and builders tend to be openly suspicious of the open-occupancy pattern, claiming that they are not in a position monetarily to take a chance. Mortgage lenders were politely evasive in their replies to interview questions. Many white home owners also line up against the potential Negro home purchaser.



The author points to two facts suggesting that changes may be in prospect: that attitudes toward Negroes in general seem already to be more liberal than the more specific attitudes regarding open vs. segregated housing, and that an increasing number of Negroes have been able to obtain good housing outside of established Negro residential districts. He suggests in conclusion that the Housing Council seek to win over the more liberal minded realtors, builders and bank officials; to promote greater distribution of Negroes in desegregated areas; to discourage the mass flight of whites from districts into which Negroes have started to move; and within each community to continue educational programs toward racial tolerance.

—DONALD L. FOLEY

*Families in Conflict: The Nature, Prevalence, and Variation in the Amount of Desertion, Nonsupport, Family Discord, and Separation in the United States.* By THOMAS P. MONAHAN. 27 pp. Distributed privately by Thomas P. Monahan, 816 South 48 Street, Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania. Thirty cents.

This 27-page mimeographed article is primarily on separation and nonsupport. Desertion is defined as "refusal to live with or have sexual relations with one's spouse, or voluntary separation without the consent of the other or without justification." The author indicates that available data on desertion, nonsupport, and separation are extremely limited and that the problems of measurement are difficult. He describes briefly some of the prior studies, particularly that of Ogburn, Kephart and Monahan, and Mowrer. He indicates the kind of data collected by courts of domestic relations in Chicago, Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. Review of the available reports on separations for the same city but at different dates seems to indicate that "both divorce and family separation (and probably domestic discord) increased remarkably from the Civil War period onward through the prosperous 1920's."

—HARVEY J. LOCKE

*Landssviger kriminaliteten i sociologisk belysning.* With a summary in English. By KARL O. CHRISTIANSEN. København: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1955. 348 pp. and 60 pp. tabular supplement. d. kr. 28.—

In this sociological analysis of the Nazi collaborators in Denmark a comparison is made between other criminals and the collaborators. This gives the author a chance to test Sellin's hypothesis that crime stands in relationship to the group resistance to crime.

Those who were recruited late behaved most like other criminals. The same is true for those who did not belong to the German minority or to the political parties of the Nazis in Denmark. The investigation shows that the recruiting of the German Nazis for the services of foreign watchmen continued to the very last stages of resistance against the Allies. By this time, however, the manpower of the German minority and that of the Danish Nazis had been largely exhausted. In the face of a growing resistance which worked under cover against Germany, Nazi recruitment was increasingly limited to unemployed workers in the capitol of the country. We must guess that they joined the Nazi cause more for the sake of easy money than for ideological reasons.

Previous recruitment had gained collaborators in the German army and for construction work in Germany itself. Late recruits were more inclined to limit themselves to the service of watchmen, but they rendered themselves obnoxious to the growing resistance movement in Denmark through murder, torture, spying and as traitors. They were—in these later days—more like other Danish criminals convicted under pre-existing Danish law.

Sampling techniques and statistical analysis are given detailed treatment, and the tabular data are printed in a separate pamphlet. The book must be understood against the background of a growing social science in the Scandinavian countries and a surprising interest in matters of methodological routine.—S. R.

*The Brown Decades, 1865-1895: A Study of the Arts in America* (Second revised edition). By LEWIS MUMFORD. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1955. 266 pp. \$3.50, cloth; \$1.65, paper.

*Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (Second revised edition). By LEWIS MUMFORD. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1955. 238 pp. \$3.00, cloth; \$1.50, paper.

Sociologists who know Mumford chiefly from *Technics and Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities* will welcome the issuing of these slightly revised editions. *Sticks and Stones*, a pioneer study of American architecture, was first published in 1924 and *The Brown Decades* in 1931. Although later scholarship has filled gaps in Mumford's documentation, the books remain significant, if minor, works of a distinguished American "social historian."

Mumford's trademarks are apparent in these early studies: his emphasis on the importance of understanding the arts and architecture in the context of the social environment, his

governing value judgment that the material culture should serve humanity instead of vice versa, and his anomalous use of the colon.

*Social Problems in America: A Source Book* (Revised edition). Edited By ELIZABETH BRYANT LEE and ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955. xii. 483 pp. \$3.75, paper.

That segment of sociology known generally as social problems or social disorganization continues to produce a literature singularly attractive to undergraduates but for the most part characterized by a theoretical aridity. This revised source book by Lee and Lee is no exception to this generalization. The task of theoretical integration is well nigh impossible in a book of readings with contributions from authors of such diverse backgrounds as those in the Lee book.

A sense of cohesion is given to these excellent selections, however, by the overview statements preceding each of the major divisions. This tends to pull together the discrete excerpts into something of a consistent whole. Also the Lees provide a group of readings in Part I, entitled "Frames of Reference" which should develop in students a perspective with which they can view social problems. The more alert students thus should develop a scheme of analysis from this theoretical prelude.

Some of the readings are informational essays and insightful descriptions by non-sociologists but the bulk of the materials are summaries and excerpts from objective studies by sociologists and other scientific investigators in the fields of human behavior. All in all they appear to be excellent teaching materials. The cross references to standard social problems texts appear at the end of each major division supplemented by a rather extensive listing of additional bibliography.

The list of social problems included in this volume is very typical of those treated in most college texts in this area. There are eight groups of chapters organized under headings very similar to those in the first source book by Lee and Lee, with numerous excerpts from the most recent literature in the field added to articles retained from the earlier edition.

Part I is the theory section. Part II deals with problems arising out of the relationship of man to land. Part III highlights social problems associated with phases of the individual's life history. In Part IV problems arising out of contact with institutions other than the family are touched upon. Part V is devoted to individual and group deviations. Parts VI and VII contain readings on problems of social division and social crisis. In Part VIII, the final section, readings are assembled which deal with techniques for coping with these problems.—ORDEN SMUCKER

*Britain: An Official Handbook*. 1955 Edition. London: The Central Office of Information, 1955. ix. 438 pp. U. S. distributor, British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. \$1.80.

This is a convenient and authoritative general reference designed for overseas use. It is well illustrated and organized and has a useful bibliography and index. The chapter headings are: The British Isles; Government and Administration; Defence; The National Economy; Industry; Transport and Communication; Labour and Management; Finance; Trade; Social Welfare; Housing and Planning; Religion, Science, and the Arts; Sound and Television Broadcasting; and The Press.

It is a most successful effort at international communication, and one wishes equally competent handbooks were available for other countries.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)



*Acta Sociologica*. Scandinavian Review of Sociology. Vol. 1—Fasc. 1, 1955. Price: Dan. Kr. 32—, per Vol.

(AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY and SOCIETY OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS, Sponsors). *American Heritage: The Magazine of History*. October, 1955. Volume VI, Number 6. New York: James Parton, 1955. 112 pp. \$2.95 per number. Subscription, \$12.00 per year.

APTER, DAVID E. *The Gold Coast in Transition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955. xiii, 345 pp. \$5.00.

BALDWIN, GEORGE B. *Beyond Nationalization: The Labor Problems of British Coal*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. xx, 324 pp. \$6.00.

BANKS, OLIVE. *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education: A Study in Educational Sociology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,

1955. vii, 262 pp. U. S. distributor, Grove Press. \$6.00.
- BARBER, ELINOR G. *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955. xi, 165 pp. \$3.50.
- BARTHOLOMEW, HARLAND, assisted by JACK WOOD. *Land Uses in American Cities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. x, 196 pp. \$6.50.
- BIENENSTOK, THEODORE. *Migration of Children in New York State*. Albany: The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, Division of Research, 1955. 19 pp. No price indicated. Processed.
- BLOOD, ROBERT O., JR. *Anticipating Your Marriage*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xviii, 482 pp. \$5.00.
- BLUMEN, ISADORE, MARVIN KOGAN, and PHILIP J. MCCARTHY. *The Industrial Mobility of Labor as a Probability Process*. Ithaca: Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1955. xii, 163 pp. \$3.00, paper. \$4.00, cloth.
- BOISEN, ANTON T. *Religion in Crisis and Custom: A Sociological and Psychological Study*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xv, 271 pp. \$4.00.
- (THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION). *Research Frontiers in Politics and Government*. Brookings Lectures, 1955. By STEPHEN K. BAILEY, HERBERT A. SIMON, ROBERT A. DAHL, RICHARD C. SNYDER, ALFRED DE GRAZIA, MALCOLM MOOS, PAUL T. DAVID, and DAVID B. TRUMAN. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1955. vii, 240 pp. \$2.75.
- (THE CENTRAL OFFICE OF INFORMATION). *Britain: An Official Handbook*. 1955 Edition. London: The Central Office of Information, 1955. ix, 438 pp. U. S. distributor, British Information Services. \$1.80.
- (THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE). *Population Characteristics of Metropolitan Chicago, 1955*. Chicago: The Chicago Tribune, 1955. iv, 79 pp. \$1.00, photo-offset.
- (CITY OF NEW YORK). *Perspectives on Delinquency Prevention*. By JOHN J. HORWITZ, Consultant. New York: City of New York, 1955. 66 pp. No price indicated.
- CLEMENS, R., and A. MASSART. *Human Relations in Industry*. Florence Discussions, 13th-22nd April, 1955. Paris: Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (European Productivity Agency Project No. 312), 1955. 53 pp. No price indicated.
- COLE, WILLIAM GRAHAM. *Sex in Christianity and Psychoanalysis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. xiv, 329 pp. \$4.00.
- (CONFERENCE ON JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES). *Papers and Proceedings of the Tercentenary Conference on American Jewish Sociology. Jewish Social Studies*, Volume XVII, Number 3, July, 1955. 116 pp. Single copies, \$2.00.
- (CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION STAFF OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY). *Man in Contemporary Society*. Volume I. *A Source Book*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xii, 1006 pp. \$7.50.
- (THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS). *The States and Their Older Citizens: A Report to the Governors' Conference*. Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1955. xvii, 176 pp. \$3.00.
- CUMMING, IAN. *Helvetius: His Life and Place in the History of Educational Thought*. With an introduction by NICHOLAS HANS. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Limited, 1955. xi, 260 pp. U. S. distributor, Grove Press. \$6.00.
- DARWIN, CHARLES. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. Illustrated. With a preface by MARGARET MEAD. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. xi, 372 pp. \$6.00.
- DAY, A. GROVE. *Hawaii and Its People*. With illustrations by JOHN V. MORRIS. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955. 338 pp. \$5.00.
- DE YOUNG, JOHN E. *Village Life in Modern Thailand*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (Institute of East Asiatic Studies), 1955. xii, 224 pp. \$3.50.
- DORNBUSCH, SANFORD M., and CALVIN F. SCHMID. *A Primer of Social Statistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. ix, 251 pp. \$4.75.
- DUBOIS, RACHEL, and MEW-SOONG LI. *Know Your Neighbors: A Handbook for Group Conversation Leaders*. New York: Workshop for Cultural Democracy, 1955. \$1.25. Discounts in quantity to organizations.
- DUPRÉEL, EUGÈNE. *La Pragmatologie*. Institut de Sociologie Solvay Collection de Sociologie générale et de Philosophie sociale. Bruxelles: Les Editions du Parthenon S.P.R.L., 1955. 97 pp. No price indicated.
- EYSENCK, H. J. *The Psychology of Politics*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954. xvi, 317 pp. \$6.00.
- The Federal Economic Review*. The Biannual Journal of the Department of Economics and Commerce, University of Karachi, Pakistan. Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1954.
- FERNANDEZ, MARIA ANGELA. *Limen de la Historia del Pensamiento y Cultura Argentinos*. Buenos Aires: 1955. 63 pp. No price indicated.
- FRANKENTHAL, KATE, M.D. *Background for Tomorrow*. New York: Vantage Press, 1953. 108 pp. \$1.50.
- GARNSEY, MORRIS E., and R. E. PELZ. *A Projection of the Population of Colorado*. With supplement, *Enrollment Projection of the University of Colorado, 1960-1980*, by JUDSON B. PEARSON. University of Colorado Studies, Series in Economics, No. 2. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1955. vii, 68 pp. \$1.50, paper.
- GERMANT, GINO. *Estructura Social de la Argentina*. Análisis estadístico. Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955. 278 pp. No price indicated.
- GLACKEN, CLARENCE J. *The Great Loochoo: A Study of Okinawan Village Life*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. xvi, 324 pp. \$4.50.
- GLUCKMAN, MAX. *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xxiii, 386 pp. \$6.75.



- GOLDSTEIN, PHILIP. *Genetics Is Easy*. A Handbook of Information. Second Edition. New York: Lantern Press, 1955. xv, 238 pp. \$4.00.
- GRATTAN, C. HARTLEY. *In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education*. New York: Association Press, 1955. xiv, 337 pp. \$4.75.
- GROSSER, ALFRED. *The Colossus Again: Western Germany from Defeat to Rearmament*. [Translated by RICHARD REES.] New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. 249 pp. \$4.75.
- HABENSTEIN, ROBERT W., and EDWIN A. CHRIST. *Professionalizer, Traditionalizer, and Utilizer*. An interpretative study of the work of the general duty nurse in non-metropolitan central Missouri general hospitals. A study conducted under the auspices of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, for the Missouri State Nurses' Association under sponsorship of the American Nurses' Association. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1955. x, 164 pp. \$2.00, processed.
- HALL, CALVIN S. *A Primer of Freudian Psychology*. New York: The New American Library (A Mentor Book), 1954. 127 pp. Thirty-five cents, paper.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955. xvi, 434 pp. \$7.00.
- HERBERG, WILL. *Protestant—Catholic—Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955. 320 pp. \$4.00.
- HICKS, J. R., ALBERT GAILFORD HART, and JAMES W. FORD. *The Social Framework of the American Economy: An Introduction to Economics*. Second Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. xviii, 309 pp. \$3.75.
- HIGHAM, JOHN. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955. xiv, 431 pp. \$6.00.
- HILL, HERBERT, and JACK GREENBERG. *Citizen's Guide to Desegregation: A Study of Social and Legal Change in American Life*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. x, 185 pp. \$1.00, paper.
- HIRSCHFELD, MARK. *The Elements of Free Trade*. Third Edition. New York: Vantage Press, 1955. 134 pp. \$2.75.
- HOFSTADTER, RICHARD, and WALTER P. METZGER. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xvi, 527 pp. \$5.50.
- HOIBERG, OTTO G. *Exploring the Small Community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955. xii, 199 pp. \$3.50.
- HOOK, SIDNEY. *Marx and the Marxists: The Ambiguous Legacy*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 254 pp. \$1.25, paper.
- HORTON, PAUL B., and GERALD R. LESLIE. *The Sociology of Social Problems*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. xii, 584 pp. \$5.50.
- HYMAN, HERBERT. *Survey Design and Analysis: Principles, Cases and Procedures*. With a foreword by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xxviii, 425 pp. \$7.50.
- INGRAM, KENNETH. *History of the Cold War*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 239 pp. \$5.00.
- (INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS). *Justice Enslaved: A Collection of Documents on the Abuse of Justice for Political Ends*. The Hague: International Commission of Jurists, 1955. 535 pp. No price indicated.
- IRIBARNE, MANUEL FRAGA. *La Crisis del Estado*. Prólogo del Excmo. Sr. D. SEGISMUNDO ROYO VILLANOVA. Madrid: Aguilar, 1955. xvi, 306 pp. 100 ptas., en rústica. 120 ptas., en tela.
- KELSALL, R. K. *Higher Civil Servants in Britain from 1870 to the Present Day*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Limited, 1955. xi, 233 pp. U. S. distributor, Grove Press. \$6.00.
- KING, MORTON B., JR., HARALD A. PEDERSEN, and JOHN N. BURRUS. *Mississippi's People, 1950*. Sociological Study Series, No. 5. University, Mississippi: University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. vi, 95 pp. No price indicated.
- KOHN, HANS. *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 192 pp. \$1.25, paper.
- KROPOTKIN, PETR. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. Foreword by ASHLEY MONTAGU, and "The Struggle for Existence" by THOMAS H. HUXLEY. Boston: Extending Horizons Books, 1955. xix, 362 pp. \$3.00, cloth. \$2.00, paper.
- LARROWE, CHARLES P. *Shape-Up and Hiring Hall: A Comparison of Hiring Methods and Labor Relations on the New York and Seattle Waterfronts*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. xi, 250 pp. \$4.50.
- LEMKEAU, PAUL F. M.D. *Mental Hygiene in Public Health*. Second Edition. New York: The Blakiston Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. xii, 486 pp. \$8.00.
- LEWY, IMMANUEL. *The Growth of the Pentateuch*. A literary, sociological and biographical approach. Introduction by ROBERT H. PFLEFFER. New York: Bookman Associates, 1955. 288 pp. \$4.50.
- MACIVER, ROBERT M. *Academic Freedom in Our Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xiv, 329 pp. \$4.00.
- MANNHEIM, HERMANN, and LESLIE T. WILKINS. *Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training*. Studies in the Causes of Delinquency and the Treatment of Offenders, I. With a foreword by SIR FRANK NEWSAM. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955. 276 pp. 17/6. U. S. distributor, British Information Services. \$3.15.
- MEAD, MARGARET, and MARTEHA WOLFENSTEIN (Editors). *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xi, 473 pp. \$7.50.
- (EIGHTH MENTOR SELECTION). *New World Writing*. New York: The New American Library, 1955. 281 pp. Fifty cents, paper.
- (MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD). *Domestic Food Consumption and Expenditure, 1953*. Annual Report of the National Food Survey Committee. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955. 104 pp. 4/-, paper.
- MOWAT, CHARLES LOCH. *Britain Between the Wars, 1918-1940*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. ix, 694 pp. \$6.00.
- NELSON, JAMES. *The Mine Workers' District 50*.



- The Story of the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Unions of Massachusetts and Their Growth into a National Union. New York: Exposition Press (A Banner Book), 1955. 158 pp. \$3.50. Special Union Edition, \$2.75.
- PARK, ROBERT EZRA. *Society: Collective Behavior, News and Opinion, Sociology and Modern Society*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. 358 pp. \$5.00.
- PFANNENSTILL, BERTIL. *Begreppet Arbetstrivsel: Belyst Genom en Sociologisk Fältundersökning av Gruvarbetare i Nordvästra Skåne*. Skrifter Utgivna av Sociologiska Institutionen vid Lunds Universitet. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1955. 111 pp. No price indicated.
- PLATT, RAYE R. (Editor). *Finland and Its Geography*. An American Geographical Society Handbook. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955. xiv, 510 pp. \$9.00.
- PORTER, MONICA E. *The Mercy of the Court*. A Novel. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1955. 252 pp. \$3.50.
- RANKIN, ROBERT S. *The Government and Administration of North Carolina*. American Commonwealths Series, W. BROOKE GRAVES, Editor. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. xiv, 429 pp. \$4.95.
- RANULF, SVEND. *Methods of Sociology*. With an essay, "Remarks on the Epistemology of Sociology." København: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus Ejnar Munksgaard, 1955. 116 pp. 10.00 Danish kroner.
- REISER, OLIVER L. *Unified Symbolism for World Understanding in Science*. Including Bliss Symbols (Semantography) and Logic, Cybernetics and Semantics. Sydney, Australia: Semantography Publishing Co., 1955. 52 pp. No price indicated, mimeo.
- REMITTS, ERNEST L. *The Feeling of Superiority and Anxiety-Superior: The Ottawa Test-Tube Survey on Status*. Ottawa: The Runge Press, Limited, 1955. viii, 71 pp. No price indicated.
- ROBACK, A. A., with the collaboration of forty experts in the various fields (Editors). *Present-Day Psychology*. An Original Survey of Departments, Branches, Methods, and Phases, Including Clinical and Dynamic Psychology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. xiv, 995 pp. \$12.00.
- SCAFF, ALVIN H. *The Philippine Answer to Communism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955. ix, 165 pp. \$4.00.
- SCHMID, CALVIN F., EARLE H. MACCANNELL, and MAURICE D. VAN ARSDOL, JR. *Mortality Trends in the Sale of Washington*. Seattle: Washington State Census Board, 1955. iii, 73 pp. No price indicated.
- SCOTT, W. H. *Industrial Democracy: A Revaluation*. Department of Social Science Occasional Papers, No. 2. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1955. 40 pp. 3/6, paper.
- SEGERSTEDT, TORGNY T., och AGNE LUNDQUIST. *Människan i Industrisamhället*. Fritidsliv—Samhällsliv. Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle, 1955. 488, lxxix pp. Kr 25:—, paper.
- SEIDEL, BRUNO. *Industrialismus und Kapitalismus: Sozialethische und institutionelle Wandlungen einer Wirtschaftsform*. Meisenheim/Glan: Verlag Anton Hain K.G., 1955. 487 pp. 34.—DM.
- SNYDER, LOUIS L. *Fifty Major Documents of the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 191 pp. \$1.25, paper.
- SOULE, GEORGE. *Ideas of the Great Economists*. New York: The New American Library (A Mentor Book), 1955. 160 pp. Thirty-five cents, paper.
- SPROTT, W. J. H. *Science and Social Action*. Josiah Mason Lectures delivered at the University of Birmingham. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954. 164 pp. \$3.50.
- STEER, ALFRED G., JR. *Goethe's Social Philosophy as Revealed in Campaigne in Frankreich and Belagerung von Mainz*. University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Number fifteen. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 178 pp. \$4.00, paper.
- STETLER, HENRY G. *Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut*. Hartford: Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, 1955. vii, 72 pp. No price indicated.
- STEWART, JULIAN H., ROBERT M. ADAMS, DONALD COLLIER, ANGEL PALERM, KARL A. WITFOGEL, and RALPH L. BEALS. *Irrigation Civilizations: A Comparative Study*. A Symposium on Method and Result in Cross-Cultural Regularities. Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, Social Science Section, Department of Cultural Affairs, 1955. v, 78 pp. Fifty cents, paper.
- STILLMAN, CALVIN W. (Editor). *Africa in the Modern World*. By Rt. Hon. Lord HAILEY, HARRY R. RUDIN, DERWENT WHITTESEY, GEORGES BALANDIER, E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, W. ARTHUR LEWIS, DAVID E. APTER, KENNETH ROBINSON, JOHN A. NOON, ROBERT D. BAUM, GEORGE W. CARPENTER, EDUARDO MONDLANE, LEONARD H. SAMUELS, MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, VERNON MCKAY, and HANS J. MORGENTHAU. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. x, 342 pp. \$6.00.
- THOMAS, ROSE COOPER. *Mother-Daughter Relationships and Social Behavior*. A study of some aspects of mother-daughter relationships and the social participations of a selected group of schizophrenic patients treated in St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D. C. The Catholic University of America Social Work Series, Number 21. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955. xiii, 369 pp. \$4.00, paper.
- TIEDEMANN, ARTHUR E. *Modern Japan: A Brief History*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 192 pp. \$1.25, paper.
- TOTAH, KHALIL. *Dynamite in the Middle East*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. xvi, 240 pp. \$3.75.
- TRYON, ROBERT C. *Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis: A General Method with an Application to the San Francisco Bay Area*. University of California Publications in Psychology. Volume 8, No. 1, pp. 1-100. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. \$1.50.

- (UNITED NATIONS). *Prison Labour*. Sales No.: 1955. IV. 7. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1955. x, 97 pp. International Documents Service, Columbia University Press. Seventy-five cents, paper.
- (UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS). *Digest of One-Hundred Selected Health and Insurance Plans Under Collective Bargaining, 1954*. Bulletin No. 1180. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955. x, 208 pp. \$1.00, paper.
- (UNIVERSIDAD CENTRAL DEL ECUADOR, FACULTAD DE FILOSOFIA, LETRAS Y CIENCIAS DE LA EDUCACION). *I Congreso Latinoamericano de Filosofia y Filosofia de la Educacion*. Reunido en Quito del 10 al 15 de Abril de 1953. Antecedentes, Delegados, Actas, Ponencias, Informes de los Relatores, Monografias y Comentarios. Quito: Edit. Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1954. 394 pp. No price indicated.
- WARNER, W. LLOYD, and JAMES C. ABEGGLEN. *Big Business Leaders in America*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. 243 pp. \$3.75.
- WARNER, W. LLOYD, and JAMES C. ABEGGLEN. *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, 1928-1952*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955. xxi, 315 pp. \$5.50.
- WATSON, JEANNE, and RONALD LIPPITT. *Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans Visiting America*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics, Institute for Social Research, 1955. x, 205 pp. \$3.00.
- WELKER, ROBERT HENRY. *Birds and Men: American Birds in Science, Art, Literature, and Conservation, 1800-1900*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1955. 230 pp. \$5.75.
- WEST, D. J. *The Other Man: A Study of the Social, Legal and Clinical Aspects of Homosexuality*. With a foreword by ALFRED A. GROSS. New York: Whiteside, Inc., and William Morrow and Company, 1955. 224 pp. \$4.00.
- WHITE, E. B., and K. S. WHITE (Edited and abridged by). *A Subtreasury of American Humor*. New York: Pocket Books, Inc. (Cardinal Edition), 1955. xii, 369 pp. Thirty-five cents, paper.
- WHITE, MORTON (Selected, with introduction and interpretive commentary by). *The Age of Analysis*. New York: The New American Library (A Mentor Book), 1955. 253 pp. Fifty cents, paper.
- WOLF, CHARLES, JR., and SIDNEY C. SUFRIN. *Capital Formation and Foreign Investment in Underdeveloped Areas*. An analysis of research needs and program possibilities prepared from a study supported by the Ford Foundation. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press (Maxwell School Series 1), 1955. viii, 134 pp. \$3.00.

## INVITATION

### To Authors in Search of a Publisher

PAGEANT PRESS (AMONG THE LEADING PUBLISHERS IN THE U.S.) OFFERS TO PUBLISH AND PROMOTE YOUR BOOK AND PAY YOU A ROYALTY OF 40 PER CENT. WRITE FOR OUR FREE DESCRIPTIVE BROCHURE, "HOW TO GET YOUR BOOK PUBLISHED."

WE ARE NOW PREPARING PUBLICATION SCHEDULES FOR 1956 AND WOULD WELCOME MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FIELDS OF SOCIOLOGY, BIOGRAPHY, RELIGION, BELLES-LETTRES, AS WELL AS SPECIALIZED SUBJECTS. IF YOUR MANUSCRIPT IS READY FOR PUBLICATION, SEND IT TO US TODAY. WE WILL MAIL YOU FULL DETAILS CONCERNING PUBLICATION POSSIBILITIES WITHIN ONE WEEK.

*Seth Richards*  
PUBLISHER

PAGEANT PRESS 130 W. 42D St., N. Y. 36

From Indiana University (where SOCIOLOGY was first adopted for the 1955 Summer Session): "I found this book to be an exceptionally effective text. It is imaginatively written and faithful to sociology throughout."

## **SOCIOLOGY: A TEXT WITH ADAPTED READINGS**

By LEONARD BROOM, University of California, Los Angeles and PHILIP SELZNICK, University of California, Berkeley

The text with a really NEW APPROACH to introductory sociology. It has a unique organization which facilitates thorough training in basic sociology. For the first time, a sociology text integrates a full, original discussion with a wealth of reading materials especially organized, condensed, and simplified to fit the needs of first-year students. The book is approximately two-thirds text, one third adapted readings.

Part I develops the basic tools of inquiry, applies concepts, reports substantive findings, and summarizes case studies. The chapters in this part are: Introduction, Social Organization, Culture, Socialization, Primary Groups, Social Stratification, Associations, Collective Behavior, Population and Ecology.

Part II reviews and reinforces the content of Part I by applying the same basic tools of inquiry successively to: The Family, The City, Minorities, Industry, Politics, and Crime—the areas in which introductory students show the strongest interest.

This book has achieved the extraordinary record of 106 adoptions from May (the month of its publication) to the beginning of the school year in September. \$6.50

—New—

## **ANTHROPOLOGY IN ADMINISTRATION**

By H. G. Barnett, Professor of Anthropology, University of Oregon. Former Staff Anthropologist, (U. S.) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

Anthropology as it has been applied to problems arising in connection with the administration of non-self-governing peoples. This includes a review of previous uses of anthropology in various colonial administrations and a detailed presentation of the unusual plan put into effect in the U. S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in 1951.

—Recent—

GROUP DYNAMICS by Cartwright and Zander	\$6.00
MIDWEST AND ITS CHILDREN by Barker and Wright	\$7.50
THE VOTER DECIDES by Campbell, Gurin and Miller	\$4.75

*Write for further information*

**Row, Peterson and Company**

Evanston, Illinois

White Plains, New York

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



## **SOCIOLOGY**

### **The Study of Human Relations**

by **Arnold M. Rose**  
*University of Minnesota*

This new and brilliant text combines a *sociological* theoretical framework with a coverage of all the branches of sociology. Analytic rather than encyclopedic, it is an introduction, not a summary, and appeals directly to the student by its extreme readability and its use of examples and allusions related to his previous experience. In this thorough treatment of the subject, necessary technical terms and specialized uses of everyday terms are included, but the emphasis is on clarity and simplicity.

*Ready in March, 600 pages, \$6.00 text*

## **SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY**

### **Present-Day Sociology from the Past**

edited by **EDGAR F. BORGATTA**  
*Russell Sage Foundation*  
and **HENRY J. MEYER**  
*New York University*

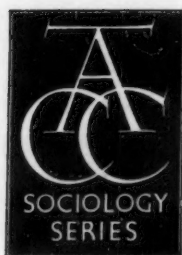
This book presents basic theoretical formulations, from the nineteenth century until the middle thirties, which are directly relevant to current theory. It is organized topically into six major parts. Introduction—Society and the Knowledge of Society, The Person as a Social Unit, Social Forms and Processes, Societal Structures, The Persistence of Social Structure, and Social Change. The sixty selections emphasize major and clearly stated theoretical statements.

*Ready in April, 600 pages, \$6.50 text*

**ALFRED A. KNOPF, Publisher**  
501 Madison Ave. College Department New York

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*





*Most recent addition to the*

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS  
SOCIOLOGY SERIES

*Edited by JOHN F. CUBER.* Each volume in this series has been selected not only with the needs of university and college students in mind, but also on the basis of its contribution to knowledge. Each is the work of one or more recognized authorities in its subject.

# The Sociology of Social Problems

by **PAUL B. HORTON** and **GERALD R. LESLIE**

"Good. Fresh approach, systematic, well written."—Harold T. Christensen, Professor of Sociology, Purdue University.

"Very useful—especially well documented."—Wiley B. Sanders, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

"The authors have done an excellent job of basing a problems text of adequate breadth and scope on a solid and firm sociological foundation."—Clark A. Bouwman, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Illinois Wesleyan University.

This text, in contrast to other "social problems" texts on the college level, employs three separate, but related, frames of reference in the interpretation of social problems data.

It brings to bear upon each problem considered the social disorganization resulting from social change, the emergence of value-conflicts, and the influence of personal deviation.

**Large Royal Octavo      584 pages      Price, \$5.50**

**Appleton - Century - Crofts**

35 West 32nd Street

New York 1, New York

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



## **Announcing—THREE NEW TEXTS IN HARPER'S SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES**

Under the editorship of F. STUART CHAPIN

---

### **The PROPER STUDY of MANKIND**

*Revised Edition*

By STUART CHASE

A new and up-to-date edition of one of the famous books of our time. Although not originally written as a text, it has been adopted for class use in some 200 colleges and universities. The new edition has therefore been prepared with the needs of college students in mind, and is provided with footnotes, full bibliography, and index. Dated material has been dropped; a good third of the material, including a number of whole chapters, is completely new, and another third is extensively reworked. The trend which was so exciting in the immediate post-war years is shown as even more exciting today, as social scientists turn to the arts of peace. This challenging and stimulating account of what social scientists are doing today is an outstanding text for social science orientation courses.

327 pages

\$3.00

### **COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION**

*Theory and Principles*

By MURRAY G. ROSS, University of Toronto

This penetrating and mature work, by a well-known social work authority, provides for the first time a systematic discussion of the *theory* underlying community planning services and the principles involved in the process. Effective applications of this theory are discussed in communities throughout the world. A distinguished text for college courses.

243 pages

\$3.00

### **EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH**

*Revised Edition*

By F. STUART CHAPIN

A considerable expansion of a unique and notable text, with four additional chapters extending the author's attempt to carry out procedures of observing human behavior in the normal community environment. A practical guide to research workers in the community and an important text for advanced courses in methods of social research.

297 pages

\$4.50

---

**HARPER & BROTHERS**

49 East 33d Street, New York 16, N. Y.

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

## SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

ROBERT E. L. FARIS, *University of Washington*

SECOND EDITION. This outstanding college textbook analyzes clearly and simply the key concepts of social organization and disorganization, and personal disorganization, drawing on materials from the whole field of sociology and related disciplines. Contains new case illustrations throughout.

*"An excellent revision of a well-known textbook on social disorganization. It is interesting, informative and up-to-date."*—E. A. HUTH, University of Dayton. 664 pp.

## THE FAMILY: *As Process and Institution*

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK, *Indiana University*

THIS INTEGRATED textbook examines the nature and origins, the types and dilemmas of families. Views the family process as successive family dramas in a dynamic and often inconsistent cultural environment, focusing on the life cycle of family experience from infancy through adolescence, courtship, marriage and having children. Throughout, theory is combined with empirical research findings.

*"Thorough, scholarly, balanced in handling evidence, and the most complete coverage of scientific results in the various areas that I've seen."*—R. O. BLOOD, Jr., University of Michigan.

104 ills., tables; 651 pp.

## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

### *The Immigrant in the Modern World*

DONALD R. TAFT, *University of Illinois*;  
RICHARD ROBBINS, *Wellesley College*

TIMELY ANALYSIS of human migration from an international point of view, in terms of population growth, conflict of economic interests, political rivalries, and the interaction of national and sub-group cultures. Includes recent world migratory movements, full discussion of the McCarran-Walter Act depicting its effect on the whole migration problem.

*"... this is the best source of current data and the most comprehensive treatise on the world-wide and fundamental problem of human migration."*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

*"... important, timely, and scholarly. It is clearly the result of prodigious research and careful study."*—B. BERP, The Ohio State University.

42 ills., tables; 670 pp.

THE RONALD PRESS COMPANY • 15 E. 26th St., New York 10

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

## ***Leading Holt Texts***

### **PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, *Revised***

RONALD FREEDMAN, AMOS H. HAWLEY, WERNER LANDECKER,  
GERHARD E. LENSKI, and HORACE MINER

A substantial revision of a highly successful text, this work presents the best of the older traditions of sociological theory together with a view of more recent developments. Includes a new selection of readings from the works of leading sociologists.

*April 1956*

### **PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, Third Ed.**

JOHN F. CUBER, WILLIAM F. KENKEL, ROBERT A. HARPER

Using the "clash of values" as its frame of reference, this text examines fundamental social problems and evaluates proposals for handling them in an objective, scientific and interesting manner. Fully up-to-date, with new material on old age, subversion and civil liberties, pressure groups.

*March 1956*

### ***Selected Titles . . .***

#### **THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK**

ARTHUR E. FINK *et al.*

*Third Ed. 1955*

#### **SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN AMERICA**

ELIZABETH B. LEE and ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

*Revised 1955*

#### **A GATEWAY TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON

*1955*

#### **THE SCIENCE OF MAN**

MISCHA TITIEV

*1955*

---

**HENRY HOLT and COMPANY**

New York 17

San Francisco 5

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



And now . . .

A truly integrated presentation  
of the social sciences

## MAN IN SOCIETY

VOLUME I

VOLUME II

Verne S. Sweedlun and Golda M. Crawford

in collaboration with

Louis H. Douglas and John G. Kenyon

Kansas State College

This outstanding new text is the product of more than a decade of classroom experience in the Kansas State social-science program. Reviewers of the manuscript commented that, for perhaps the first time in any textbook, the authors have managed to draw a realistically integrated picture of that integrated phenomenon society.

For the one-semester course, Volume I is an excellent basic text in social institutions and characteristics. For the year sequence, Volume II completes the story of social processes and widens the scene to global proportions. At all points in both volumes, the concept of the organic totality of society is maintained. Thus, each section of the book draws on data from all the social sciences, without over-emphasizing any one of them. Throughout, historical material is presented in conjunction with the individual topics in such a way as to help the student understand current social forces.

Principles and facts are stated simply and clearly and illustrated by concrete examples. Up-to-date figures, tables, and maps support the descriptive material. Terms which the student might not understand are defined when first used in the text and in end-of-chapter glossaries. Other end-of chapter materials include questions, discussion topics, and reading references.

Test materials, film bibliographies, and suggested course procedures are provided in the Teacher's Manual accompanying Man in Society.

COLLEGE  
DIVISION

55 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York

American Book Company

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

**FOR PUBLICATION SPRING, 1956**

*The Fourth Edition of*

● **URBAN SOCIETY**

*GIST and HALBERT*

Changes in subject matter, emphasis, and organization distinguish this revision of a popular and widely used textbook.

1. New materials on cities in various parts of the world have been introduced in appropriate chapters.

2. Materials dealing with the ecological distribution of population have been expanded, with special emphasis on such phenomena as segregation, invasion, and decentralization of population in metropolitan areas. The revision gives special attention to the rural-urban fringe.

3. In dealing with the social organization of the city, the authors have introduced chapters on social groups, bureaucratic organization and power, the occupational system, social classes and social mobility, and social relationships and personality.

4. The chapters on housing and planning are definitely oriented to world developments in this field.

**PUBLISHED IN 1955**

*The Second Edition of*

● **CRIMINOLOGY**

*RUTH SHONLE CAYAN*

"A well-organized, well-illustrated, effective text. Contains two chapters in particular not found in most other books: one on the treatment of offenders in the armed forces; and the other on European adult offenders and prisons."—*Lowell J. Carr, University of Michigan.*

1955    718 pp.    Illustrated    6 x 9    Cloth    \$6.00

---

**THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY**

432 Fourth Avenue

New York 16, N. Y.

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

# The American Psychologist

The *American Psychologist* is the official journal of the American Psychological Association, and it is published monthly. It contains all official papers of the Association and articles concerning psychology as a profession. It also contains other features, including:

*Across the Secretary's Desk.* This section is written by the Executive Secretary of the Association who is also editor of the journal. It is generally concerned with a subject of current interest to the membership and other readers.

*Comment.* This section is devoted to letters-to-the-editor about various controversial issues.

*Psychological Notes and News.* This section contains newsworthy notes about members of the Association, and many items of general interest to psychologists and those in related fields.

*Convention Calendar.* On this page are listed the dates and places of meetings of various professional associations.

---

*Special Issue.* The August issue, the Annual Convention Program Issue, contains the abstracts of papers to be read at the Annual Meeting. It also gives the times and places of these paper-reading sessions, symposia, and meetings of various groups.

---

The subscription rate is \$8.00 a year; single copies, \$1.00.

Send subscription orders to

**American Psychological Association**

1333 Sixteenth Street N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

*A New Journal*

# Contemporary Psychology

**A Journal of Reviews**

Containing critical reviews of current books—reviews  
that are of scholarly value and literary merit

Also, reviews of films

A letters-to-the-editor department

And an editorial column about books and current news  
of psychology's book mart

Interesting to all members of the American Sociological  
Society who are intellectually concerned with the  
total progress of psychology

Also of consequence to psychiatrists, social scientists, bio-  
logical scientists and many others

The editor is Edwin G. Boring

The first number, January 1956

**Subscription, \$8.00**

**Single copy, \$1.00**

*Order from*

**American Psychological Association**

**1333 Sixteenth Street N.W.**

**Washington 6, D. C.**

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



***there is change:***

new chapters on social problems  
emphasis on the modern American  
social order  
up to date facts and statistics



***and continuity:***

sound integration  
non-technical terms  
a broad perspective



***in the revised  
fourth edition of***

MARION B. SMITH'S

# **Survey of Social Science**

written with the  
editorial collaboration of  
CARROLL R. DAUGHERTY



***an early 1956 publication***

**HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY**

Boston 7      New York 16      Chicago 16  
Dallas 1      Palo Alto

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

Princeton  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

---

---

## The Gold Coast in Transition

By DAVID E. APTER

Mr. Apter applies the insights and methods of social science in a study of the amazing development of the Gold Coast, the first African colony to make the transition from a tribal dependency to a parliamentary democracy. This book is both a graphic account of the Gold Coast today and an intensive case study of political and social change.

368 pages. Illustrated. \$5

## Feudalism in History

Edited by RUSHTON COULBORN

What were the essential elements in the make-up of a feudal society, and did such a social system exist anywhere else than in Western Europe? In the process of testing the hypothesis that the methods of feudalism may have been applied in societies outside Western Europe, this volume analyzes the social and political organization in various periods in Western Europe, Japan, China, Mesopotamia, Iran, Egypt, India, Byzantium, and Russia.

450 pages. \$8.50

## The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France

By ELINOR G. BARBER

By delving into the religious, economic, social and political attitudes and practices of the French bourgeoisie in the 18th century, the author dispels the idea that they were a revolutionary class bent on the destruction of the *ancien régime*. Instead, she reveals that only slowly and partially did they become antagonistic to the established society. Her particular attention is given to bourgeois feelings about, and chances for, social mobility.

177 pages. \$3.50

---

---

---



Order from your bookstore, or

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW



CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

## EDUCATION FOR MARRIAGE

by James A. Peterson

Associate Professor of Sociology and Marriage Counselor,  
University of Southern California

Scientifically accurate, humane in its insights, this book works to help students understand and appreciate intelligent approaches to a wise choice of a marriage partner, and the adjustments necessary in the psychological, sexual, social, economic, and all the other relationships of marriage.

Its aim is to achieve specific changes in attitude and in psychological growth: teaching *Persons* rather than *Facts* and teaching *For* marriage rather than *About* marriage.

Examination copies on request.

430 pages

\$5.50

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT  
597 FIFTH AVENUE      NEW YORK 17

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

## Family, Marriage, and Parenthood

Becker and Hill, Editors

SECOND EDITION

The many revisions bring this edition thoroughly up to date. Multiple authorship makes available a complete coverage in all the areas of family relationships.

864p. \$6.25

## When You Marry, REVISED

Duvall and Hill

A popular, modern text with attractive format and lively cartoons, charts, and illustrations. Contains selected student reading lists and technical references for the instructor.

480p. \$3.50

*D. C. Heath and Company*

Home Office: Boston 16

Sales Offices: Englewood, N. J. Chicago 16 San Francisco 5 Atlanta 3 Dallas 1

*A new, important textbook on . . .*

## ★ CRIMINOLOGY

ROBERT G. CALDWELL

*State University of Iowa*

*Just Published.* This well-documented, systematic textbook focuses on the complexity of crime and delinquency problems, fully considering their causation and treatment. Following a many-sided approach, the book emphasizes the individual as well as the group; the criminal as well as the crime. Underscoring the contributions and limitations of the scientific approach, it points out the responsibilities of the private citizen and the social scientist. Book integrates the resources of many allied and relevant disciplines, as well as those of sociology. To insure perspective, it develops both the historical and contemporary aspects of crime, law enforcement, punishment, and penal administration. Includes important chapters on two frequently slighted subjects—criminal investigation and military justice—plus a revealing section on prison life as experienced by an inmate. Written with the college student in mind, CRIMINOLOGY will also prove illuminating to the social scientist, the law-enforcement officer, and the correctional administrator.

24 ills., tables; 742 pp.

—THE RONALD PRESS COMPANY • 15 E. 26th St., New York 10—

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



Announcing!

## MANIFEST STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

By Frank M. du Mas

**THEORY.** A new, nonparametric theory and model for the representation and analysis of quantitative *and* qualitative properties of phenomena. The basic concept is that categories, stages, levels, or classes may be uniquely ordered along a dimension. A conceptual extension is made to the n-dimensional case.

**METHOD.** Step-by-step computational examples are given which permit the scientist to efficiently analyze data. The method permits the extraction of a unique set of patterns of properties or responses from an apparently chaotic mass of data. The method is simply and quickly applied.

**APPLICATIONS.** Literally any social data that can be recorded can also be analyzed. Manifest Structure Analysis can be applied whenever the social scientist wishes to predict a quantitative variable from a *pattern* of categorical properties. It is especially useful in studies of attitudes, ecology, and demography.

Price \$6.00

*Sent on approval if requested*

Montana State University Press

Missoula, Montana

## YALE BOOKS

### PHRENOLOGY Fad and Science

John D. Davies

The first full story of the controversy that rocked America a century ago, as quacks and savants argued over the psychology hailed as a panacea for social ills. "A cheerful, fully documented account of an errant chapter in our social and scientific history." *New York Times*.

\$3.75

### USE AND ABUSE OF HISTORY

Pieter Geyl

In this succinct analysis of the philosophy and methods of history, this noted Dutch historian examines the prevailing concepts of history, and the new "awareness of distance" from the past that was lacking in the earlier historians. This important study of the historical point of view is based on the author's recent Terry Lectures.

\$2.50

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE  
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
NEW HAVEN 7 CONN

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

The best way to KEEP UP WITH ANTHROPOLOGY...  
is to read the new and enlarged

## AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

You are invited to join the American Anthropological Association.  
For the annual dues of \$8.50 (institutions \$9) you get

- 6 issues of the *American Anthropologist*, at least 160 pages each
- 4 issues of the *Bulletin of the Association*
- *Memoirs* as issued (at least 2 are guaranteed for 1956—probably more)
- The privilege of buying many books at large discounts—many members save more than their annual dues!

Write to William S. Godfrey, Jr., Executive Secretary, American Anthropological Association, Logan Museum, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, U.S.A. Enclose check for \$8.50 to begin membership at once.

## BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled *To the Author in Search of a Publisher*. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet AT. It's free.

### VANTAGE PRESS, INC.

120 West 31st Street, New York 1

In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28  
In Washington, D. C.: 1010 Vermont Ave., N.W.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

on  
Correctional  
Topics

Over 700 Titles on new developments  
in:

Parole  
Personnel  
Prisoner Education  
Public Education  
Prison Psychiatry and Psychology  
Prison Industries

Single copies @ \$2.25

Ten or more @ \$2.00

Postpaid in U. S. and Canada

**United Prison Association  
of Massachusetts**

33 Mt. Vernon St., Boston 8, Mass.

*Announcement*

The American Sociological Society  
has become the exclusive United States distributor for

**CURRENT SOCIOLOGY**

*published by*



United Nations Educational, Scientific  
and Cultural Organization

*Current Sociology* is an international quarterly journal.  
Alternate issues provide:

Classified international bibliographies of sociological  
publications.

Trend reports on subjects of particular sociological  
importance.

Bibliographies are prepared by the International Sociological Association with the support of the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation.

Trend reports have appeared on stratification, social mobility, and consequences of technological change. Future issues will deal with urban sociology, American sociology, and other topics.

The BOARD OF EDITORS is made up of:

Francisco Ayala, University of Puerto Rico  
Kingsley Davis, University of California, Berkeley  
David Glass, London School of Economics  
Henri Janne, University of Brussels  
René König, University of Cologne  
Gabriel Le Bras, University of Paris  
Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo  
Camillo Pellizzi, University of Florence  
Stein Rokkan, University of Oslo

Annual subscription rate—\$3.50

Special rate to members of American Sociological Society—\$2.80

Order through

**AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

New York University

Washington Square

New York 3, New York

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

***If you are LOOKING FOR A JOB—  
If you have a VACANCY TO FILL—***

**SEND DETAILS FOR LISTING IN THE SOCIETY'S  
EMPLOYMENT BULLETIN**

- issued nearly every month
- providing complete anonymity to both applicant and lister of vacancy
- bringing together prospective employers and employees
- entailing no obligation to acknowledge replies which come to you, unless they are of real interest
- eliciting hundreds of answers each month
- resulting in many actual placements

***Members say:***

"practical and fills a real professional need"

"especially valuable in placing the right people in the right places"

"a help in advising students on occupational opportunities"

***Employers say:***

"an amazing way of smoking out candidates whom you would never suspect of wanting to move from their present positions"

"we received over thirty replies and were both pleased and surprised at their calibre. Ten of them could qualify for top positions in almost any first-class institution"

"we anticipate completing the staff from the applications received"

**THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, N.Y.**

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



## *Announcement*

Starting in 1956

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

will publish quarterly

# SOCIOMETRY

*A Journal of Research in Social Psychology*

### *Editor*

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

### *Associate Editors*

Robert Freed Bales  
Herbert Blumer  
John A. Clausen  
Leon Festinger  
Nelson N. Foote

Herbert Hyman  
Irving L. Janis  
Frederick Mosteller  
Theodore M. Newcomb  
William H. Sewell

Annual subscription rate \$9.00

Special rate to Members of the American Sociological Society \$4.50

Order through

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

New York University

Washington Square

New York 3, New York

# SOCIETY AND MAN

by MEYER WEINBERG, Chairman, General Social Science Course; and OSCAR E. SHABAT, Chairman, Social Science Department; both of Wright Junior College, Chicago, Illinois.

In a brilliant new book—regarded by reviewers to be the most *imaginative* and *stimulating* social science study in years—Shabat and Weinberg examine social values in action and conflict.

Through the unique medium of reports on the research of some sixty prominent social scientists, the authors present a vivid picture of American industrial society. In their stimulating discussions, reports and summaries, the student will see society as an on-going process of men and groups, with conflicting conceptions about the most desirable social values and of the proper role of the individual in a democracy.

Readers will get an inside view of the ways in which social scientists reach their conclusions, and will come to appreciate the crucial role and changing meaning of the social values of democracy, freedom, equality, and economic welfare. An annotated bibliography at the end of each chapter provides rich source material for further reading, including general studies, special studies, plays, and novels. Line drawings, charts, graphs, and halftone illustrations enrich each chapter.

Among the outstanding social scientists whose work is reported on in SOCIETY AND MAN are W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb; Bernard Barber, Bernard Berelson, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld; John Dewey; and William N. McPhee. Some reports are on unpublished research into recently-arisen areas of interest. All are authoritative and have been checked by experts, most of whom did the original studies.

7" x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " • approx. 750 pages • to be published in March, 1956

For approval copies write



**Prentice-Hall, Inc.**

ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS  
NEW JERSEY